

The Parsees At The Court
1904 OF Akbar

Sas.
Librarian

Itarpara Joykrishna Public Library
Govt. of West Bengal

affirmative description, subversive of all existing systems rather than the foundations of a new code of belief. From this uncertainty, however, we have a satisfactory appeal, and find in a work written towards the close of Akbar's reign, a most minute recapitulation of progress of the Emperor's defections from the faith of Mohammed, and the new institutes and observances which he laboured to introduce. The work is the *Muntakhab-at-Tawârikh* compiled by Abd-ul-kâder Maluk Shah Badâ'oni."

Professor Blochmann takes the same view. Giving extracts from Badâ'oni on the religious views of Akbar, he says. "The above extracts from Badâ'oni possess a *peculiar value*, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new faith, combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsis. *This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Ain, nor to the longer article in the Dabistân.* As the author of the latter work has used Badâ'oni it will only be necessary to collect the *few remarks* which are *new*" (Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 209) As to the discussions at the religious meetings, as described by the Dabistan, Elphinstone thinks them to be "probably *imaginary*" (Bk. IX, Chap. III., Cowell's ed., p. 555. The italics are mine).

Now, let us see, if we can account for the additional statement in the Dabistan, viz., Aïdeshir's visit to the court of Delhi. That a learned Persian Zoroastrian, named Aïdeshir, came from Persia at the special invitation of Akbar is certain. That is proved from the independent source of the *Fahang-i-Jehangiri*. But the facts (1), that he came for quite another purpose, *not* for the purpose of taking any part in those religious discussions, which led Akbar to openly acknowledge Zoroastrian forms of worship and (2) that he came a long time *after* the years 1581 and 1582 when Akbar adopted these forms of worship, are equally certain, and can be placed beyond any shadow of doubt.

As to the first fact, *viz.*, that Aïdeshir was sent for, from Persia, by Akbar, for quite another purpose, we have the authority of Mir Jamal ul din, a writer contemporary with Akbar. He was the writer of the well known Persian lexicon, *Fahang-i-Jehangiri*. This work was begun by him in the reign of Akbar, who had patronized it, and finished in the reign of his successor Jehangir, after whom it was called *Fahang-i-Jehangiri*. We will give here, in the words of the



author himself, an account of his dictionary, as far as Akbar was connected with it. He says in the preface ¹ :

Translation.

“ From the prime of youth, I had the inclination and desire of reading and perusing the poems of the ancients, and in the company of friends and companions, a good deal of my time was spent in (reading) the discourses and collected poems of teachers of old times; and when many of their poems contained Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c., I had helplessly to refer to Persian vocabularies called *farhangs*. And I came across many words and idioms in the poems of the ancients, which were not found in any dictionary; and in the case of those that were found, there was a good deal of contradiction and confusion. As the bankers of the thread of learning and wisdom, had written much in investigating and ascertaining the origin of words and idioms, but had made no difference between Persian and Arabic words, the object was not fulfilled, and necessary questions (of difficulties) remained neglected. Therefore, the desire of preparing a book in this noble branch of learning, became fixed in my poor mind. I collected in several parts, all the unknown words that came across my sight in books of poetry and prose. In short, I spent, well nigh one generation, which is the period of 30 years, a good deal of my time and a good deal of my life in making researches in Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c.

“ ‘ I worked hard for 30 years and revived Persia with this Persian.’ ² The hand of eloquence became strong through me. I finished the book of Pahlavi. After many researches and investigations, such a number of words and idioms were collected as had not come to the hand of any other lexicographer. But the arrangement of those, on account of difficulties, the description of the encounter of which is of no great advantage, had fallen into the sphere of delay; and from the excess of my inquiries,

¹ Lucknow lithographed edition, of 1293 Hijri (دبیاچه) Introduction, from page 3, l. 5. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript, p. 1, l. 16. As far as I know, this portion from the preface of the *Farhang* has not been translated. So I give my own literal translation of it.

² Quoted from Firdousi. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. XC., l. 20. Macan's Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 65, l. 18.

my excellence in this art (of writing a lexicon) had reached such a stage, that very few words and phrases have remained uninvestigated by this slave (*i.e.*, myself) by means of his fiery inquiries of proofs; so that many just-minded friends, knowing me to be worthy of confidence in this kind of learning, brought before me every difficulty which they met with, in their study of prose and study of words In short, the excellence of this servant, in this (branch of) learning, being sufficiently well known, in the month of Zi-'l-qu'da (*i.e.*, the 11th month) of 1000¹ Hijri, at the time, when the banner of Akbar Badshâh, the sun of the nobles had the honour of appearing in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital of Cashmere, one of my friends spoke in the paradise-like assembly (of the king) about the researches of Persian words and phrases which I had been fortunate to make. The members of His Majesty's court, as soon as they heard this matter, called the humblest of sincere friends (*i.e.*, myself) in the noble and holy presence of his Majesty. His Majesty said very gracefully and elegantly (lit. with a tongue that drops pearls and scatters jewels) 'since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy.

¹ The lithographed edition from which I translate gives the year 1000 (*i.e.*, 1050), which is evidently a mistake for 1000 (*i.e.*, 1000). A manuscript copy of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, lent to me by Mr. Manockji R. Unwala, gives 1005 (*i.e.*, 1005). That also is a mistake. Blochmann's manuscript (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, Part I., No. 1, p. 12) gives 1000. This is correct, because the writer connects the event with Akbar's visit to Srinagar, and we know that Akbar visited Cashmere in 1000 Hijri, "and reached his destination on the sixth of Muharrum (the first month) of the year one thousand and one" and spent nearly a month in "his private garden" باغ خاصه (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 398, Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, Vol. II., p. 384, ll. 19, 20). Thus according to Badâ'uni, on the 6th of Muharrum (the first month) of 1001, he arrived in Cashmere (*i.e.*, the capital). So the interview with Jamal-ud-din may have taken place a few days before.

Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protects learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No body could perform that work as it should be.¹ It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame, and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever).”

The author then goes on to say, that he then began to collect about 44 previous *farhangs* or lexicons, Zend and Pazend books and other Persian works. But, before he completed his work, Akbar died in 1014 Hijri (1605 A.D.). Akbar's son Jehangir came to the throne, and the dictionary was finally completed in his reign, three years after Akbar's death. So the author named it after Jehangir and called it Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

He says—

مرتب گشت این فرهنگ نامی
باسم شاه جمجاه جهانگیر
چو جستم سال تاریخش خرد گفت
زی فرهنگ نورالدین جهانگیر
Translation.

i.e., this famous dictionary became honoured by the name of king Jehangir, who is like king Jamshed in dignity. When I looked for its date, wisdom said: “Zahi Farhang Nur-ud-din Jehangir,” *i.e.*, Well done, the dictionary of Nuruddin Jehangier!

The numerical value of the letters of the above *micrá* is 1017 Hijri (1608-09 A.D.). This is the date of its completion.

We learn from this long passage several facts. *Firstly*, we learn, why it was that king Akbar patronized it, and *secondly*, we learn the different dates of its commencement, its patronage by Akbar, and its completion. We will speak of the dates later on.

Firstly, as to the patronage extended to it by king Akbar, we learn that the speciality of this new lexicon, to which the author attaches great importance, and to which the king himself also attaches great importance, is that it contains many old Persian words, especially of Zend and Pazend origia. It is for this purpose, that the author collected several Zend and Pazend books.

¹ Arabic ‘ka-má-yambaghi’ meaning “as it should be.”

Now, it was to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din, the author of the Farhang, in his work, that king Akbar had specially sent for Ardeshir, a learned Persian of Kerman, to whom the Dabistan refers. Blochmann says on this point: "From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srínagar, Mir Jamál-ud-dín received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Persia to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din in the compilation. The historian Badâ'ônî indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis-i-khâṣ*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess The Zand and Pazand words form a peculiar feature."¹

We learn from the Farhang-i-Jehangiri itself, that Ardeshir was sent for from Persia, for the purpose of this dictionary. Blochmann refers to this passage in his abovementioned paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

برسام شرح این لغت از مجوسی که در دین خود
بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و اورا مجوسیان موبد می
دانستند و حضرت عرش² آشیانی محض بجهت تحقیق لغات فارس
مبلغها از برایش فرستاده از کرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت

(Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14, article by H. Blochmann.)

As Blochmann has not translated this passage, I give my own translation.

Translation.

"Barsam —The meaning of this word is written, after being ascertained from a Majūs (Magus), who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom the Magi held as their Mobed (priest), and whom His Glorious Majesty,

¹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, p. 12-14, 1868. Paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

² Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives the word as آستانی. It would then mean "of the throne-like threshold." But the word as given in Blochmann's manuscript is correct, because عرش آشیانی meaning "nestling at the foot of the divine throne" was "a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease."—(Steingass.)

having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining (the meanings of) Persian words." The word 'barsam' is an old Zand Avesta word. Firdousi uses it.¹

The long explanation, which the author gives, of the word *Barsam* is very technical, and so he refers to his authority.² In the case of another word also, we find, that the author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* gives his authority. It is in the case of the word *Azar* آذر. He does not give the name of the person but simply refers to him as an old person of the Zoroastrian faith. Blochmann thinks, that perhaps this is a reference to the same person Ardeshir. We read the following under the word, آذر or اذر. I follow the text of Mr. Unwala's manuscript.

فقیر کہ راقم این حروقم پیری از پارسیان را کہ در دین
زردشت بود دیدم کہ جزوی چند از کتاب زند و سنا داشت چون
مرا رغبت و مسغف تمام بجمع لغات فوس بود و در فوس از ژند

¹ The author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* quotes the following lines in which Firdousi uses it:—

پرستند آذر ز در دشت
همیرفت با باؤ برسم بمشت
چو از دور جای پرستش بدید
شد از آب دیدہ رخس ناپدید
فرود آمد از اسپ برسم بدمت
بزم زم همیگفت و لب را ببست

The first couplet is from the account of Behrám-gour's reign (Mohl VI., p. 84, couplet 705, Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1579). The next couplet can be traced, with a little modification, to the account of the reign of Khusró Parviz (Mohl VII., p. 186, couplet 2295, Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV., p. 1949), but the third couplet, which seems to be in continuation of the second couplet, I am not able to find in any of the copies of the *Sháh-Námeh* with me.

² The word is so obsolete, from a non-Parsee point of view, and the explanation is so technical, that the later lithographed editions of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* have omitted the word 'barsam,' perhaps as being of no use to the modern students. Blochmann's manuscript of the work has given it. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. which I have used for this purpose gives the word, *vide* p. 155.

³ Blochmann's copy has the word correctly written ژند و سنا (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14).

⁴ The lithographed edition of Lucknow of 1293 Hijri (1876 A.D.), p. 56, has شفت

و وسنا^۱ کتابی معتبرترینست بجهت تحقیق لغات با او صحبت میداشتم
و اکثر لغاتی که در خاتمه این کتاب از زنده و بازنده و وسنا نقل شده
از تقریر آن^۲ زردوشنیت و او هرگاه قراءت ژند مینمود باین لغت
که میرسید آذر بضم دال فی منقوطه میخواند و میگفت که در کتاب
ژند و وسنا^۳ این لغت بدال منقوطه نیامده

Translation.^۴ (I give my own translation, as Blochmann's is rather a free one.)

"I (lit. my humble self) who am the writer of these lines, saw an old man of the Parsees, who was of the Zoroastrian religion, and who had a few parts of the Zend Avesta books. As I had a great longing and yearning for the collection of Persian (*fars*) words, and as there is no more authoritative work for the Persian than the Zend Avesta, I kept up a friendly intercourse with him for ascertaining (the meanings of) words. And most of the words, which are given in the supplement of this book, from the Zend and the Pazend and the Avesta are as explained by that Zoroastrian. While reading the Zend whenever he came to this word (*Āzar*) he read it *Ādar* with a *zamma* (or '*pesh*') over *dāl* without the *nūkta*, and said that in the book of Zend Avesta this word does not occur with a *dāl* with the *nūkta*."

Of these two passages, the first is very clear. It distinctly says, "that Ardeshir was (mark the ord محض) specially sent for, from Kirman for the purpose of ascertaining Persian words."

Dastur Aspandiyâr Kâmdin of Broach (who lived from 1751 to 1826) in his book entitled *કલિમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર*. (pp. 50-51) published in 1826, a short time before his death, refers to the fact of Ardeshir's being called to India for the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

¹ The Lucknow edition adds *تقریر* before this word.

² Blochmann's MS has *زرتوشنی است*

³ The Lucknow edition adds *پاژند* before this.

⁴ Blochmann's translation runs as follows:—"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zend Avesta. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zend Avesta, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khatimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zend Avesta. Whenever he came across the word *آذر* in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it *ādur*, not *adzar*, etc." (Journal of the

But one may argue, that Ardeshir, even if specially sent for, for the purpose of the Dictionary, may have taken an active part in influencing Akbar to Parseeism. In order to meet that argument, we must try to fix the date of Ardeshir's visit to India.

We find in the Persian Revāyets, a letter from this Ardeshir to Dastur Kiamdin Padam of Broach, on the subject of fire-temples. The letter ends thus—

نہشتم شد در روز دین ماه فروردین قدیم سنہ ۹۶۷ یزدجرد شاه پندشاه

i.e. Written on the day Din month Farvardin 967 Yazdazardi.¹ After copying that letter, the compiler of the Revāyats makes the following note :—

وقتی کہ دستور اردشیر نوشیروان کرمانی از ایران زمین در ملک ہندوستان پدش شاه اکبر آمدہ بود آنگاہ این مکتوب بدستور قیام دین پدم نوشتہ بود (p. 458, l. 9)

i.e. At the time, when Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwān Kermāni had come from the country of Persia, to the country of Hindustan, before king Akbar, this letter was written to Dastur Kiamdin Padam.

From the body of the letter it appears that Ardeshir had received a message from Dastur Kāmdin of Broach at Mooltan, when he was

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14.) Prof. Max Müller refers to this passage and says (Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 18): "We have the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it, far more complete and far more correct than any that Emperor Akbar obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian, whom he invited from Kirman to India." Prof. Max Müller does not say a single word more than this, and still he is quoted in the paper, above referred to, as supporting the inference that "Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently-conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia." (pp. 296, 297.) One can easily see from the full quotations from Blochmann and Max Müller that there is nothing at all in Max Müller's words supporting the above inference. The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says that Ardeshir had "some parts (juz or *juzwe*, *i.e.*, a little, a trifle) of the Zend Avesta," and what Prof. Max Müller wishes to say is merely this: that in our times we have "far more complete and correct" manuscripts and translations than those brought by Ardeshir. Yet he is represented as supporting the above inference!

¹ Lithographed edition of the Revāyet, which is being printed by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwālā, Vol. II. (pp. 455-458), p. 458, l. 7.

on his way back to Persia. Ardeshir says, that had he received the message at Lahore, he would have thought of going to Dastur Kamdin at Broach.

چون در ملتان رسیدم بهدین کاوس ماچار را دیدم..... اگر این
فقیربهدین کاوس را در لاهور میدید البتہ در خدمت میرسید

i.e. When I reached Multan, I saw Behedin Kâus Mâhâr. . . . Had I seen Behedin Kâus at Lahore, of course, I would have come (p. 456, ll. 7-11).

This passage shows that Ardeshir left India in 967 Yazdajardi (1597 A.D.). This is the date of the departure of Ardeshir. Now let us see, if we can fix the date of his arrival. The above quoted long passage from the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri helps us to do that.

We learn from that long passage of the preface, that Mir Jamâluddin had devoted 30 years to the work of his lexicon, and that it was during the time of Akbar's visit to Srinagar in 1000 Hijri (1592 A. D.) that the King extended to him his patronage. Now, as we saw, that Ardeshir was specially sent for, for the work of the lexicon by king Akbar, and as we further saw, that Akbar extended his hand of patronage to the author of the lexicon, only in A.D. 1592 (Hijri 1000), it is quite evident that Ardeshir must have come to India *after* A.D. 1592. This was then about 13 years *after* the date (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khânch, which influenced Akbar towards Parseeism were closed, about 11 years *after* the date (1581 A.D.) when Akbar openly accepted the outward forms of the Parsee worship, and one year *after* the death (1591 A.D.) of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Thus we see, that the Farhang-i-Jehangiri clearly proves the two facts (1) *firstly* that Ardeshir came from Persia, *for the purpose of the dictionary*, and (2) *secondly* that Ardeshir came to India *after* 1592, A.D., a long time before which, Akbar had openly adopted some of the visible forms of Parsi worship. This clearly shows then, that it was the Indian Parsees of Naosari, who had explained to Akbar the Parsee religion and not Ardeshir from Persia.

The discussions, which are called "the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibâdatkhana,"¹ and to take part in which, none of

¹ The Ibâdat Khânch is spoken of in the Tabakat-i- Akbari as—نشیمن قس—
کاشانه آتش, i.e. the holy seat, the place of fire (Munshi Nawul Kishore's Edition of 1875, p. 328, l. 4).

the Gujarat Parsees are supposed to "have possessed the requisite ability" were practically closed in 1579 A.D. (987 Hijri). Blochmann says "*the disputations had now come to an end* (A.D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor."²

It may be said that the religious disputations were not closed in 1579, because missionaries continued to come and go, long after that year.³ But the later missions in after years, had nothing to do with the religious disputations of the Ibâdat-khaneh. Anyhow, as far as the Parsees and their influence on Akbar were concerned, the disputations were closed. This is proved by several facts on the authority of Badâ'uni.

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

² Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XV.

³ The dates of these missions differ according to different writers.

I give below the dates according to different authors :—

	Father Catrou, on the authority of Manouchi.	Comte de Noer, on the authority of Du Jarric.	Murray.
First Mission.	Arrival.—(Does not give the exact date, but it can be calculated by references.)	Arrival 1580.	Arrival 1570.
	About 1576 or 1577.	"Departure probably 1582."	Departure 1583.
	Departure.—1579 or 1580. (Rudolph Aquaviva left in 1582 or 1583.)	(Rudolph Aquaviva probably left in 1585.)	
Second Mission.	Arrival.—1589 (date of departure from Goa).	Arrival 1591.	Arrival 1591.
	Departure.—Date not given, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay seems to have been short.
Third Mission.	Arrival.—No date given, but it must have been before 1597 as a great fire, which took place in 1597 is said to have taken place when the mission was there.	Arrival 1595.	Arrival 1595.
	Departure.—The mission remained till the death of Akbar.	Departure.—Gives no date.	Departure.—Gives no date, but says that the mission left, when Akbar went to conduct a war in the Deccan. That was in 1596 (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 92).

(1) From the new Jalâli year (988) 1580-81, the king openly adopted sun and fire-worship (Badâ'oni : Lowe, Vol. II., p. 269; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184; Rehatsek, p. 27). (2) Two years after, *i.e.* in 1582 (990) he "established 14 holidays according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Badâ'oni : Lowe, Vol. II., p. 316; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53). (3) The document "unique in the Church History of Islam," which was the result of these disputations, and which separated Akbar from orthodox Mahomedanism, was signed in 1579 (Rajab 987) (Badâ'oni : Lowe, Vol. II., pp. 278-279; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 186; Rehatsek, p. 31). It was a document for preparing which Badâ'oni applies to Abul Fazl, the proverb, "He prefers hell to shame on earth." (4) After the signing of this document, the king left for Ajmir on the 16th Rajab of the same year 987 (1579 A. D.). (5) He adopted the Parsee Calendar and established his era after the manner of the ancient Persians in 1584 (992), (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. (Jarrett), pp. 30-31.). Badâ'oni describes this change under the events of 990 Hijri (1582), (Lowe II., p. 316; Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53).

Though the later missions came as late as 1595, they had nothing to do with the original discussions of the Ibâdat-khana. It is only the first mission, that seems to have taken a part in the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana. All the three missions had to leave Akbar's Court disappointed, as far as the king was concerned.

Father Catrou says of the first mission that "Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause¹ of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only." Comte de Noer says something similar.

According to Abul Fazl, the first mission of Father Rudolf (Padri Radif) took part in the discussions at the Ibadat-khanah in 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) (*Akbar-nâmeh*, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20, Asiatic Society's Calcutta Edition, Elliot VI., p. 60). Badaoni places under the events of the year 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) the event of Akbar ordering "Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity." (Badaoni-Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 260, l. 6. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 182. Rehatsek, p. 25). Now it was Father Monserrat, a member of the first mission, who gave these lessons to this prince (Calcutta Review, January 1886, Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXII, pp. 2 and 4). So according to Badaoni the date of the first mission was 986 Hijri (1578-79 A. D.).

1 History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 113.

He says "Mais ayant manqué le but réel de l' entreprise, qui était a conversion d'Akbar, les Padres retournèrent à Goa (L' Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 330)." Murray says the same thing. "One of the courtiers however, allowed it to transpire . . . that his (Akbar's) sole aim was curiosity and entertainment." (Vol. II., p. 90.)

As to the second mission, the discussions at the Ibâdatkhana were long before over, and according to Father Catrou, we do not find them carrying on any "learned and philosophical discussion" whatever with the courtiers. They expected Akbar to be a Christian. "He often visited the fathers, proposing to them the most specious objections to our sacred mysteries, and appearing satisfied with the mysteries (explanation) he received." Nothing further happened. They had instructions to leave "whenever they should be satisfied that their mission had failed in its object." Their mission failed, and so they returned to Goa.¹

According to Comte de Noer also, the second mission left without achieving any result. "Ils quittèrent L' Empire, sans avoir obtenu aucun résultat religieux."²

From Murray also we find, that they "went through nearly the same career as their predecessor. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he appeared glad to have them about him . . . They found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes."³

Coming to the third mission, we find the same thing in their case. From Catrou, we do not find them taking any part in any discussions whatsoever. They converted some of the people. Akbar appeared at times well inclined toward them and their religion. But says Catrou "Nevertheless, some vestiges of his former superstition would escape him at intervals . . . Heaven punished the pride and impiety of the prince in a remarkable manner."⁴

According to Comte de Noer, the third mission had a political object rather than a religious one. He says : "L'Ordre jugeait avanta-

¹ History of the Mogul Dynasty, Catrou, pp. 126-127.

² L' Empereur Akbar, Vol I., p. 330.

³ Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol II., pp. 92-93.

⁴ History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 128.

geux d'entretenir des agents politiques, à la cour du Grand Mogul, comme à d'autres cours."¹ From Murray also we learn the same thing. "There remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression." Thus, we see, that as Blochmann says, the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana were closed in 1579, and that the later Christian missions had no part in those discussions.

But even, if, for argument's sake, we take it for granted, that the discussions by the Christian missionaries continued after 1579 A. D., that *does not affect the main issue*, that by 1582 Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar and the Parsee festivals, whereas Ardeshir came long after that in 1592.

We said above, that the influence of Parseeism on king Akbar, was a *fait accompli*, sometime before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia into India, because, he had adopted long before 1592, many of the Parsee forms of worship and observances. Among these was his adoption of the Parsee festivals. We find a reference to this fact in the Ain-i-Akbari also. We read the following (Ain 22, Book II.)² : — "His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pârsî priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. The New Year's day feast³ Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Persians, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month"

III. The third important work which refers—though indirectly—to the question whether it was the Indian Parsees or the Persian Parsees, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the Ibâdatkhanah in 1578-79 is Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh. Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions under the events of the commencement of the 23rd year of King Akbar's reign (986 Hijri, 1578 A.D.), a long time before Ardeshir's arrival. He thus speaks of a meeting for religious discussions on the 20th of the month Meher.

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 331. ² Ain-i-Akbari. Blochmann, Vol. I. p. 276. ³ "Badâ'ont generally calls this day Naûrûz-i-Jalâli."

بیستم مهر ماه الهی در آن عبادت خانه خلوت تجرد را در بزم
تعلق چراغ افروختند و نقد دانش اندوزان مدرسه و خانقاه بعیارگاه
بودند صاف از درد و سره از مغشوش جدا کردن آغاز شد و قراخی
حوصله و بسطت ظل الهی چهره آرای گشت صوفی حکیم متکلم فقیه سنی
شیعه برهن جتی سیورا چار باک نصاری ایهود صابی زردوشتی و سایر
گوناگون مردم از دید آرامش محفل همایون..... نشاط فارغبالی نمودند

(Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., pp., 252-53, I. 22, Calcutta Edition of Abd-ur Rahim) Translation.

"On the 20th Mîr¹, in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. [Health from disease, and good money from false money, began to be separated. Abundance of spirit and excellence of divine power enlightened faces.]² *Sûfis*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shi'is*, Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists, *Chârbâks*,³ Christians, Jews, [Sabeans]⁴ Zoroastrians and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight"⁵. (Elliot's History of India, (Dowson,) Vol. VI., p. 59.)

As Ardeshir came after 1592, as already shown, the Zoroastrians present at the above discussions in 986 Hîrjî (1578 A.D.), were those of India.

As the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says. Ardeshir was, no doubt, a learned priest. So one must naturally expect an inquisitive king like Akbar, to take advantage of his presence at his court, and make inquiries from him about Zoroastrianism as observed in Persia.⁵ It is this fact, that the Dabistân takes note of, in adding one statement more, to those, that it had copied verbatim from the work of Badâoni.

¹ Mcher. ² As Elliot has omitted to translate this portion, I have given my own translation in brackets. ³ "Hindu materialists." The preceding words ought to be *Jatis* and *Sauras*, which are names of races. ⁴ Lit. showed exultation of joy at the sight of the pleasure of the royal assembly. ⁵ Things like that may happen even now. Several Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies performed by the Parsees of India, even now, differ from those performed by their co-religionists in Persia. Though I have personally officiated at Parsee marriages on several occasions in Bombay, it was only this month, that I had an occasion to witness a marriage of a Persian Zoroastrian, when I found a good deal of difference in the ritual.

It is this fact, which Comte de Noer alludes to when he says: "Akbar avait fait venir de Perse, à grand frais, un prêtre parsi Ardjer, qui initia l'empereur aux rites antiques desacroyance." (Manry's Translation, Vol. I., p 340). But there is not a particle of evidence to show, that Ardeshir took any part in leading Akbar to the adoption of some of the Zoroastrian forms of worship and of Zoroastrian festivals, &c. The fact, as shown above, by authentic dates, proves that Ardeshir came long *after* the event.

Again, apart from the question of dates above referred to,—and that is a question of very great importance in the consideration of the main question,—there is nothing whatever in the Dabistan, to any way belittle the work of the Naôsâri Parsees. It nowhere says that Naôsâri Parsees had no influence upon Akbar, and that it was because the Naosari Parsees had failed to explain their religion to Akbar, that Ardesir was sent for, from Persia. It says nothing of that kind. On the contrary, it says in the very commencement that (a) the Naosari Parsees "asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster" and (b) that the Emperor "was pleased to take information" from them.

If from the mere fact, that king Akbar called Ardeshir from Persia, long after the visit of the Naôsâri Parsees to Akbar's court, we were to infer, that the Naôsâri Parsees did not satisfy the king, then there remain, several facts to be explained.

1. The Dabistân further says that the king "invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion."¹ If it was Ardeshir, who, as alleged "took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseism," and ~~not~~ the Naôsâri Parsees, why was there the further necessity of inviting more Zoroastrians from Persia?

2. Again, we learn further on from the Dabistân, that Akbar "wrote letters to Azer Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniân and Abâdâniân and invited him to India."² Now, if it was Ardeshir, who had "been able to take part in discussions showing skill and dialectical ability," why was there the necessity of inviting Azer Kâivân also.

3. Then take the case of another community, the Christian. We know that Akbar called from Goa, some of the learned

¹ Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 95-96.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Portuguese missionaries. They were Rodolfo Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrat and Francisco Enriques.¹ We learn from the same authorities, which give these names, that later on Akbar sent for some other Christian missionaries. They were : "Edouard Leioton, Cristophe de Vega and a layman."² Again later on, a third party of missionaries, consisting of Jérôme Xavier, Emmanuel Pignero and Benoît de Gois³, came to the Court of Akbar. Are we then to understand, that Akbar sent for these two other bands of missionaries, because he was *not satisfied* with the learning and the teaching of the first missionaries? No, these later parties of missionaries had little to do with the discussions at the Ibâdat-khaneh. They were latterly sent for, for other reasons, but not because Akbar was dissatisfied with the first party.

Again, one must mark the words همچنین meaning 'likewise' used in the Dabistân, in connection with both (a) Ardeshir, (b) and the other Zoroastrians from Kerman. Even, suppose, for argument's sake, that Akbar sent for Ardeshir from Persia, both for the purpose of the dictionary, and for seeking knowledge on Zoroastrianism. But that does not show, that he was *not satisfied* with the Naôsâri priests. If an inquirer after truth, goes on sending for experts from different parts of the world, that does not necessarily show, that he is dissatisfied with the first batch of experts. His inquisitive mind may crave for knowledge from different quarters.

We find from these facts, that according to Badâ'uni and according to the Dâbistan also, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who explained to king Akbar, the tenets of Zoroastrian religion, and influenced him, and not Ardeshir and the Parsees from Persia. Ardeshir did not come to India earlier than 1592. Long before that year, the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh, in which the Parsees were concerned, had been closed, and according to Badâ'uni, the contemporary historian

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I, p. 326. The names are given on the authority of du Jarric. History of the Mogul Dynasty by Father Catrou, translated into English (1826), p. 105. Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol. II., p. 83.

² *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 330; Catrou, p. 126; Murray, (p. 92,) alludes to this mission but does not give names.

³ *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 331; Catrou, p. 127; Murray, (p. 93,) alludes to the third mission, but does not give names.

of Akbar, in 1581, *i. e.*, at least about eleven or twelve years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia, the king had openly accepted Parsee forms of worship. Badâ'oni is very clear on this point. "From the New Year's day of the 25th year of his reign (988 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1581 A. D.), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269.)

IV. There is another work of history, which distinctly says that in the 24th year of his reign (*i. e.*, in 1579 A. D.), Akbar was led away from Mohamedanism by several learned men, among whom it includes "several infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi." The writer here gives the exact date of the influence of the Parsees, *viz.*, the 24th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1579 A. D., the very date when the Naôsari Parsees were at Akbar's Court according to Badâ'oni. Ardeshir came at least 13 years after this date. This work then leads us to conclude, that it was the Naôsari Parsees, and *not* the Persian Parsees, who led Akbar towards Zoroastrianism. Though the work is later, its statement is supported, both by Badâ'oni and the author of the *Dabistân*. It is known as *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* (تاریخ ممالک ہند) *i. e.*, The History of the countries of India.¹

¹ It was written by one (غلام باسط) Gulam Basit, in 1196 Hijri (1782 A.D.) at the desire of an English officer named (جنرل جابلی اسٹپٹ) General Giles Istibat. I read the name, as it is given in the manuscript copy of the Mulla Firoz Library (Rehatssek's Catalogue IV. (History), No. 15, p. 76). Elliot (History of India, Dowson, Vol. VIII., p. 200-201) reads the name of the officer, from the manuscript he saw, as General Charles Burt. Rehatssek reads the name from the Mulla Firoz MS. as General Jayles Estbet (?). The author says in his preface, that he had made two copies of his work, one for the General and one for himself. Prof. Rehatssek seems to have committed two mistakes in his catalogue—(1) about the name of the author, and (2) the date of the work. He says, 'The compiler of this work, Kuhmân Singah, states that he began it A. H. 1196 at Calcutta, by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (?), in whose service he was, and at the end of the MS. he states that he completed it A. H. 1240 (*i. e.*, 44 years afterwards).' Prof. Rehatssek has evidently committed a mistake here. Kuhman Singah is not the name of the compiler or author, but of the copyist, and the date is not the date of the completion of the work, but of that of the copy. This is clear from the following passage which we read at the end of the book:—

تاریخ ممالک ہند بروز پنجشنبہ ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری
بہ سخط بندہ کترین کہانسنکہ صورت اتمام یافت

In describing the events of king Akbar's reign, the author says, "Birbal and chiefly the infidel (Kâfar) Parsees brought about a change in the mind of Akbar." The words in the original are:—

در سنه ۲۴ جلوسی خود بسبب موافقت اکثر علمای دین فروش
و ابن الغرض مثل ابوالفضل و فیضی و برہمنان خلاف عقاید مثل
بیربر و اکثر کفار و ملحدہ پارسی کہ بدین مجوسی مقید اند و بعضی
جوکیان انحراف در مزاج بادشاہ افتاد ازین معنی نعوذ باللہ چندان در
مقدمہ شریعت اعتقاد نہ داشت

(Mulla Firoz Library's MS. folio 287a, ll. 6-13, Rehatsek's Catalogue of 1873, IV, History, No. 15.)

As this work is not translated I give my own translation of the above passage.

"In his 24th Jalûsi year, through association with several learned men, who were irreligious and interested—in short, men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, and Brahmins of opposite faiths, like Birbar and chiefly infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi, and many Jogis—a change came upon the mind of the king. On that account, may God save us from such an evil (*na-uzu-billah*) he had not much faith in the principles of the faith (of Islâm)."

Now, though these are the words of a later historian, they are supported by Badâ'uni and the author of the Dabistân.

i. e., The Târikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind was completed by the hand of humble servant Kuhman Singh on Thursday Mâh Rabi-ul-Aval 1240.

It is a small work which cannot have taken 44 years to be completed. It is the date of the completion of the copy, not of the original work. Again, Prof. Rehatsek is also wrong in concluding that "The only copies existing are that which he made for himself, and the one for his master—probably this MS., because it is very neatly written on glazed paper, &c." Prof. Rehatsek was, perhaps, misled by what is said in the preface by the author, that he made two copies, one for his master and one for himself, and perhaps by what Elliot* wrote, "I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mulla Firoz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kanauj with the title Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh." (Elliot VIII., p. 202.)

* Elliot's History, Vol. VIII., was published in 1877, *i. e.*, 4 years before Rehatsek prepared his catalogue (in 1873) of the MSS. of the Mulla Firoz Library.

Birbal or Birbar was a favourite courtier of king Akbar. By Badâ'oni, he is spoken of as *mala'un* ملعون i.e. accursed,¹ because he was believed to be one of those, who led the king away from Mahomedanism to sun-worship and fire-worship. Badaoni says, "The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west The conquered philosophers and scholars of the court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor of the whole world These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnity of the Jallâly new year's day, which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign ²."

The word in the text which Rehatsek translates by "conquered" is *مستقر*. It has several meanings, though all well nigh similar. They are: "conquered, subdued, vanquished; deserving or destined to be vanquished (as the armies of the infidels); oppressed, vexed."³ Blochmann translates it as "in disgrace."⁴ Lowe does not translate the word. Wilson simply translates, "The learned men of the Court acknowledged that the sun, &c."

We thus see, that the learned persons at the Court, of whom Badaoni speaks as *Maqhûr*, i. e. "deserving to be vanquished as the armies of the 'infidels'", are the Parsees, referred to by the writer of the later work *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* as "infidel Parsees."

¹ Badâ'oni applies several such abusive epithets to Birbal. He calls him "hellish dog" (*سگ جهنمي* Lees' and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 274, l. 6.; Lowe II., p. 282) and bastard (*حواصراد* p. 211, l. 11; Lowe p. 214) wretch (*بدبخت* Text II., p. 317, l. 2; Lowe II., p. 326). Of his death he says, he "was killed and entered the pack of the hellhounds and received a portion of his base, deeds *رسید در سلک سگان جهنم داخل شد و پاره از جزای اعمال شدیم خود یافت* (Text II., p. 350, ll. 16, 17; Lowe's translation II., p. 361.)

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Ellâm, translated from Badaoni by Rehatsek, p. 25. Muntakhab-al Tawarikh, edited by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 260. Lowe's Translation II., p. 268. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. p. 183. Works of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II., p. 387.

³ Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183.

Anyhow, whatever meaning we attribute to the word (مقهور) *maqhūr*, the passage shows, that when Birbal spoke of sun-worship before Akbar, he was supported by some learned men at the Court, of whom Badâ'oni speaks contemptuously. Some learned men at the court were Birbal's associates. These learned men whom Badâ'oni condemns, were the Parsees, whom the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* associates with Birbal.

The *Dabistân* which follows Badaoni's work also gives a similar version. It says :—

“The Rajah Birber conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables, and gives splendour and life A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is possible about the existence, the splendour and the beneficence of the sun.”¹

We find from this passage of the *Dabistân*, that its author has clearly understood the allusion in Badâ'oni, as referring to the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. The later editions of the *Dabistân*, *e.g.* the Bombay edition of Hijri 1277 (p. 265, l. 16) which I have used, give the words as “a sect of sun-worshippers” (طایفه از آفتاب پرستان) Some editions give the word “Atash parast,” as it appears from the translation of Shea and Troyer. Thus we see from the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* and from the passages of Badaoni's history and of the *Dabistan*, that Birbal's arguments at the court of Akbar in favour of sun-worship, were supported by the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. Thus the statement of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* is supported both by Badaoni and the author of the *Dabistân*.

Now the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* places this event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i. e.*, in 1579, which was the very time of the religious discussions, at the Ibadat-khânah, and the time of the visit of the Naô'sari priests at Akbar's Court. Even if we had no date of the above event in the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik*, we could have determined it in another way. We learn from Badâ'oni,² Abul

¹ The *Dabistân* by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 93-94.

² Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 350. Lowe II., p. 361. Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., pp. 204, 344, 404.

Fazl¹ and other writers² that Birbal was killed in 994 Hijri (1586 A. D.), in a battle with the Yusufzâi Afghans.³ This was at least about six years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia (about 1592).

This additional evidence of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind*, based on Badaoni's work and on the *Dabistân*, shows that it was the Indian Parsees, who had associated themselves with Birbal in influencing Akbar, and not Ardeshir from Persia. But we need not take the date of the death of Birbal to prove indirectly, that the event took place before Ardeshir's arrival in India. We have, as said above, the direct statement of the author, who places the event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, in 986-987 Hijri (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the *Ibâdat-khâne* were coming to an end. The *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* then very clearly shows that it was the Parsees of India, who brought about "a change in the mind of the king."

We have so far seen then, that the *Muntakhab-al Tawârikh* of Badâoni and the *Dabistan*, directly, and the *Akbarnamêh* of Abul Fazl, and the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* of Gulam Bâsit, indirectly show, that it was the Indian Parsees, the Nâosari Parsees, who had led Akbar towards Parsecism. According to the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*, Ardeshir came in or *after* 1592 A.D. So he had no share in bringing

¹ Akbar nameh, Elliot VI., p. 84. ² *Zubdatu-t-Tawârikh*, Elliot VI., p. 191.

³ The idea, with which Akbar, on hearing of Birbal's death in a distant country, was consoled, is significant. Badâoni says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amir, as he did at that of Birbal. He used to say 'Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames!' But, afterwards they comforted him with these words, 'Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun (نیرا عظم) is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification.'" The words of respect here used for the Sun are the same as those used by Birbal in his advocacy of Sun-worship. (Badâoni's Text II. p. 260). (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 362, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 351, ll. 4-8.) As Birbal was a staunch advocate of Sun and fire-worship, in which advocacy, according to the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind*, he was supported by the Parsees, the above words of consolation about his corpse being exposed to the Sun, are significant. Elliot attributes these words of consolation to Akbar himself. He translates "Afterwards he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Birbal was pure," etc. (Elliot Vol. V. p. 529, n. 2), but I think that the words in the text (باز تسلي باين ميديا دند) do not allow of that rendering, and Lowe's translation is more correct.

about the above result. A long time before his arrival the king had openly adopted Sun and Fire worship from the new Jalâli year 988 H. (1580-81 A. D.), had established 14 Zoroastrian holidays in 1582 and had adopted Parsi calendar.

II.

We now come to the second part of our subject.

The question is, who was the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees? There is a very old tradition, supported by written documents among the Parsees, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who headed the party from Naôsâri and explained to Akbar, the principles of Zoroastrianism. If it was not Dastur Meherji Rana, who was it? It is for those, who have doubts about his mission, to say who it was. The tradition about Dastur Meherji Rana is confirmed by facts which we will now examine.

I. The first important fact showing that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of Akbar and influenced him, is, that he was granted a piece of land of about 200 *bigahs* at his own native town of Naôsâri. We have not got the original *farmân* to Dastur Meherji Rana, but we have got the one granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad, for continuing in his possession the above land granted to his father, together with 100 *bigahs* more, granted to him personally. In this *farmân*, the grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana is clearly referred to. In describing the land, the document says about the 200 *bigahs* صواد قصبه نوساری که زمین مذکور قبل از این در وجه مدد معاش عا یار بود

i.e. In the district of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was (allotted) before this time, for the purpose of the help of livelihood (*madad-i-maâsl.*) of Mâhyâr.¹

I produce several original documents on the subject of this grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana.

(1) I lay before the Society, the very original *farmân*, kindly lent to me for the occasion, by Dastur Dârâbjî Mâhyârjî, the present Dastur of Naôsâri. I append at the end of my paper a copy of the document.² It is dated 40th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1595 A.D.

Mr. Karkaria doubts the fact of Meherji Rana's going to Akbar's court, on the ground, that his name "is not found even in this family grant." He is quite wrong. As quoted above, we do find Meherji

¹ Mâhyâr is the original Persian form of the name, from which Mâhyârjî and then Meherji are irregularly formed. ² Vide the photo-litho facsimile at the end and pp. 93-94 for the copy.

Rana's name in the above document, as that of the person to whom 200 *bigahs* of the land were originally given. The document bears king Akbar's seal, and is given in the 40th year of his reign.

The form of the seal is one of the forms, referred to by Abul Fazl, in his 20th *Āin* on "the Royal Seals."¹ Abul Fazl says, "the seal-engraver cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqāʿ* عرق character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to *Timūrlang*." The seal on the *farmān*, which I produce, is of this kind. The name 'Jalaluddin Mahamad Akbar Badshah,' we find in the centre. On the right of that name, we find the name of his ancestor Babēr. A little above that of *Humāyūn*. That of *Taimur* stands at the top.

This document clearly shows, that some land at *Naôśāri* was granted by Akbar to *Meherji Rana*. Why was it granted? It was for services as tradition asserts, rendered by *Meherji Rana* at the court, in explaining to the king the religion of Zoroaster. These services are referred to by a writer in 1765, as we will see later on.

We must note here, that the grant was as *madad-i-ma'ûsh* (assistance for livelihood), which was a special form of gift. *Madad-i-ma'ûsh* was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court.² *Badâônî* had a similar *madad-i-ma'ûsh* of 1000 *bigahs* of land. It differs from *jâgîr*. *Jâgîr* is a grant for services at court, but *madad-i-ma'ûsh*, for services to the court, but not directly at the court continuously.³

On the subject of these grants, Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considered doing so an act of divine worship."

"Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazîfah*; lands conferred are called *Milk* or *Madad-i-ma'ûsh*."⁴

Blochmann thus explains this word⁵: "The latter term (*madad-i-ma'ûsh*) signifies 'assistance of livelihood' and, like its equivalent *milk* or

¹ Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 52. Blochmann's Calcutta Edition, Vol. I., p. 47, ll. 18-19. For further particulars *vide* appendix, p. 107.

² Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 126, Article on *Badâônî* and his Works by Blochmann.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 268, Bk. II., *Āin* 19. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 1-2 and 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

property, it denotes 'lands given for benevolent purposes,' as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jâgir* or *tuyûl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on Mançabdârs in lieu of salaries." This shows, that the grant of land given to Dastur Meherji Rana, was of a kind, superior to that of the ordinary *jâgirs*. This must be then in appreciation of some valuable services of Meherji Rana.

This grant to Dastur Meherji Rana was, according to tradition made in about 1578 A. D. This was the very time when king Akbar, according to Badâ'uni,¹ deprived the former Mahomedan *Ulamas* of their *madad-i-ma'âsh*. A grant of land to a Parsee priest, in the very year, when there was a general resumption of the grants, shows, that there were special reasons for rewarding him. Abul Fazl says of this department of the grant of lands that "His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and providing true piety, pays much attention to this department."² According to Badâ'uni also, the king "wished personally to enquire into their grants."³ There must have been, then, special reasons for the king to reward Dastur Meherji Rana with a grant of land, and that grant, not a *jâgir* or a temporary grant, but a *madad-i-ma'âsh*, i.e. an hereditary grant.

(2) We have also a second *farmân* for the above grant of land. It is a *farmân* subsequently repeated in the 48th year of Akbar's reign (1603 A.D.). It also makes the same statement, as that in the first *farmân*, viz., that the grant of 200 bigahs of the land was at first made for the *madad-i-ma'âsh* of Mâhiyâr. I beg to produce this second original *farmân*.⁴ It bears Akbar's seal as in the first case. The name of the *parganah* in which the additional land to Kaikobad was situated is different here from that in the first *farmân*. In the first *farmân* the land is said to be in Erûi in the *parganah* of Pârchôl (از بروی در پرگنه پارچول).⁵ In the second *farmân* it is said to be in Tavri in the *parganah* of Talâri.⁶ (توری در پرگنه تلاری).

¹ Text II, p. 278. Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 189; pp. 268-69, Bk. II. *Âin* 19 Journal Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., p. 128.

² Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbar-i*. Vol. I., p. 270, Bk. II., *Âin* 19, end. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 189. ⁴ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 119-120 for the copy. ⁵ Erûi is in the taluka now known as the Jalalpur Taluka near Naôsâri.

⁶ The *parganahs* of Têlâri and Pârchôl are referred to in the *Âin-i-Akbari* as being situated in the *sarkâr* of Surat (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, pp. 256-257. Calcutta text of Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 497. Column II., ll. 1 and 14). Pârchôl

The change in the name may be due to the fact, that the plot of ground to Dastur Kaikobad may have been subsequently changed. The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* suggests the reason why this change may have been made:—

و پس از چندی آگهی شد که این گروه زمین یکجا ندارند—کم
نیرواز انبازئی خالصه و جاگیردار آزرده میگردد و بدگوهران را
دستمایه بی دیانتی میسازد فرمان شد که یکجای دلخواه تن دهند و
چاره این دو گروه برسانند

(Blochmann's text of *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 16-18, Bk. II., *Âin* 19.)

Blochmann thus translates the passage: "After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khâliqah* lands or near the *jâgîrs* of *Mançabdârs*, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties," (Blochmann's translation of *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., pp. 268-69.) Akbar changed the *madad-i-ma'âsh* for other reasons also. Badaoni's land was so changed. He says in his *Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh* (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 379): "Mentioning my name, he (the Emperor) said, 'there is a certain man of *Bâdâôn*; we have of our own will changed his *madad-i-ma'âsh* without abatement from *Basâwar* to *Bâdâôn*.'" From the translation of the document, which I append at the end, it seems that about eight years after the first *farmân*, Kaikobad was subjected to vexations. The second *farmân* refers to this fact and asks the authorities concerned, to return to Kaikobad, whatever he may have been deprived of from the income of his land.

(3) We have a third document dated the 48th year of king Akbar's reign (1012 H., 1603 A.D.), from *Khân Khânân*, the *sepâhsâlâr* giving orders, that though a general *farmân* directs that all the land given for

had 55,920 *bigahs* of land and *Tôlari* 35,091. *Pârchôl* had the revenue of 1,50,8000 *dams* and *Tôlari* of 917,890 *dams*. (According to the 10th *dîn* of the first book of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, the *dam* weighs 5 *tânks* (تَنک) i.e., 1 *tolah* 8 *mâshahs* and 7 *surks*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee) (چهل بخش روپے) (Blochmann's translation I., p. 31, text I., p. 26, l. 25.)

madad-i-ma'ash may be halved, Kaikobad's grant of 300 *bigāhs* may not be halved. I produce that original document.¹

(4) Then we have a fourth document—and that a very important document—dated 1005, H. (1527 A.D.) from Nawāb Qādik Muhammad Khan, specially referring, to the 200 bigahs of land, given to Meherji Rana² for his *ma'ad-i-ma'ash*.

II. The *second* important fact is, that we have some very old songs or poems, that chronicle the events of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar and of his influence upon the king. Of these songs Mr. Karkaria says: "These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on inquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written." I beg to show that these songs were not composed a generation or two ago and by hirelings. One of these songs was composed by Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

I produce before the Society, an old manuscript of a book of songs, which contains a song, connecting the name of Dastur Meherji Rana with Akbar. The manuscript, which I produce, belongs to my friend Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The book contains a number of songs, and at the end, the story of Changragāch, who was supposed to be an Indian sage visiting ancient Persia.

It appears from the colophon³ of the manuscript that the manuscript was written on *roz* Abān, *mah* Bahman 1161 Yazdazardi, 1848 *Samrat* (i.e. 1792 A. D.). So the manuscript is 110 years old. The writer of the book is a priest of Surat, Mobed Behrām, son of Jiji. It was written for Behdin Jamshedji Kukāji. The date of the colophon, as given above, shows, that it is an old manuscript. Also the name of the person, for whom it was written, shows, that it is an old manuscript. We find from the Parsee Prakash⁴, that this Jamshedji Kukāji was a well-known merchant of Bombay and lived from 1745 to 1810 A. D. He was the father-in-law of Mr. Nusservānji Cowasjee Petit, the great-great-grandfather of the present Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart. This fact also then proves, that the manuscript is more than 100 years old. So the song in this manuscript must be older. I give the song in the appendix. The song points clearly to Dastur Meherji Rana's relations with king Akbar.

¹ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 133 for a copy.

² *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 139 for a copy.

³ *Vide* appendix for the song and for the colophon pp 162-64.

⁴ The Parsee Prakash, by Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, Vol. I. p. 116.

We find from the song itself, that its author was Tansen, the celebrated minstrel of the court of Akbar. His name occurs at the end of the song, as in the case of the songs of many oriental songsters and poem-writers. Tansen is spoken of by Abul Fazl, in his 30th *Āin*¹ of the second book, as "Miyān Tansen of Gwāliār." He places him at the head of all the principal musicians of Akbar's court. He says that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." According to Blochmann,² "Rām Chand³ is said to have once given him one *kror* of *tānkahs* as a present." This Rām Chand was Rajāh of Bhat'h or Bhattah. Blochmann says of him: "The emperor sent Jalāluddin Qūrchī to Bhat'h to induce Tānsin to come to Āgrah. Rām Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Āgrah, and the first time that Tānsin performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tānsin remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindūstān."⁴

My attention to this song was drawn, when it was first published in the *Rast Goftar* of 29th October 1899 by Mr. Rustomji H. Kharshedji. I know, that at that time some doubted, and even now some doubt, whether this song was really composed by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar. They say, it may have been written by some later songster, in the name of Tansen. Opinions, even of experts, may differ. But then, anyhow, the fact, that it occurs in a manuscript written about 110 years ago, very clearly shows, that it is a very old song, and that it was not composed, as alleged, "by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago."

¹ Blochmann, *Āin-i-Ākbari*, Vol. I., p. 612. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 263, 1. 7, column 1. میان تانسن—درین هزار ساله چچواو نشان ندهند

² *Ibid*, note 1.

³ Badā'oni says of him: "This Rām Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *kror* of gold (*kror-zar*) to the minstrel Miān Tansen in one day. The Miān did not wish to leave the Rājā, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back." (Elliot, V.

p. 539.) از جمله بخششهای او اینکه یک کروڑ زر بهمان تانسن کلاوت در یک روز بخشیده

Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., 335, ll. 11-12. Lowe's Translation Vol. II., p. 345.

⁴ Blochmann, *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 406. note.

I had sent a copy of this song to Maharaja Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur of Calcutta, who is well known as a great authority on music in India, and asked his opinion as to "whether there is any reason to doubt the authenticity of its being a song by Tansen." In reply to my telegram this morning, requesting his opinion on the point, he says: "The style and music of this song appear to me as having been composed by Tansen."¹ Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore's opinion then shows that the song is Tansen's. Thus we have the evidence of a contemporary authority to show that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of king Akbar and influenced the king.

(2) There are other Hindustani and Marāthi khiāls or ballads, which also allude to Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court of Akbar. The Hindustani khiāl begins thus:

મેહરજી રાણી બરા નેક થા, પુરાબંદ શહેબકા,
પાદશાહ અકબર શુધરા પેહના, દેખ તમાશા મજબકા.

i.e. Meherji Rana was a very virtuous man. He was a perfect servant of God. King Akbar put on the Sudrāh (i.e. sacred shirt). Look to the display of the (Zoroastrian) religion.

This ballad is printed in a book² called ગાએને દેલચમન i.e. "Pleasant Songs," printed in 1867, and so it must have been composed before that date. There is a Marathi song also, but it is not printed in any book.

Thus we see, that the event of Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar's court, is referred to in old songs and ballads, and so it is not hireling rhymsters, as alleged, who have composed them.

The writer of the history of a nation or community, has not to despise old songs and ballads sung in that community. They at times supply him good materials. As M. Mohl says: "L'histoire de tous les people commence par là, car on conte et l'on chante avant d'écrire, et les premiers historiens n'ont pu fonder leur récits que sur des matériaux pareils."³

III. Thirdly, it is not old songs and ballads alone, that chronicle the fact of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar. We have the authority of a learned writer, who wrote about 136 years ago, to say that Meherji Rana went to the court of Akbar to explain to him the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

¹ I have latterly received a letter from the Maharājā, giving the same opinion at some length. *Vide* Appendix p. 165. ² ગાએને દેલચમન શરને જાતા ગાએના શંગરદની ચોપડી. અંગરેજ તથા શુન્નરાની જાન પરીનદીગ દ્રાપાખાતું શને ૧૮૬૭ વા. ૫૭૪. This song is also printed in શરેરે મરાઠી. Vol. II., p. 31. A copy of this book is in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library. (*Vide* Catalogue of 1894. Gujrati Hat p. 3 No. 74. ³ Le Livre des Rois, Preface, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1805¹, in his Persian treatise known as Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naôsâri² (قصہ آتش بهرام نوساری) i. e., the description of the fire

¹ Parsee Prakâsh I., p. 101.

² The name of the treatise as given by the author himself is

قصہ آتش و بهرام که در شهر نوساری نو ساختہ

i.e. "An account of the Fire temple which was newly founded in the city of Naosari" (p. 1, l. 3 of Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai's MS.) There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (vide the catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana library published in 1898 p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that *આવરેજી શપુરજી મનોજી સંજાના પોતાની હાથે લખેલો છે* i.e. it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, by his own hand). The MS. belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. "Mr. Desai in writing to a friend Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says "આ શપુરજી મનોજી સંજાનાની આ પોતાની હાથે લખેલો છે" i.e. "it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana's own hand, and it is the very first draft." On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai's MS. we find on almost all pages a number of corrections both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS. between the first portion of the verses which gives an account of the first great fire temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37) some notes in Gujrati, describing how at the request of Chângâshâ, the sacred fire of the first fire temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Atashbeharam (fire temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam *صد در نظم*. In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library are as follow:—

- (1) *قصہ زرتشتیان ہندوستان* i.e. An account of the Zoroastrians of India.
- (2) *بیان آتشبہرام نوساری* i.e. An account of the fire-temple of Naosari.

The fair MS. would at first sight appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (e.g. ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to

temple of Naôsâri, thus refers to the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana to the Court of Akbar.¹

در این ایام دستوران دستور : که نام او بود سهراب پرنور
که نسل اوست از دستور ماییار : بداننی باب آن رانا نکوکار
همیشه دین به را جلوه داده : گنہگاران نگونسر شد زیاده
بنزدیک شاه اکبر رفته بود او : بسی بریان دین ظاهر بکرد او
که نام او بهر جاهست ظاهر : سرآن دستور بود او پای و طاهر
i.e., "At this time there was a chief Dastur. His name was glorious Sohrab. His descent is from Dastur Mâhyâr. Know this, that his (i.e., Mahyar's) father was virtuous Rânâ. He had always given splendour to the good (Zoroastrian) religion. Many sinners were put down by him. He had gone to King Akbar. He had shown many proofs of the religion. His name is known everywhere. He was a holy and pious Dastur."

This book was written in 1135 Yazdajardi, 1765 A.D.,) because the fire temple of Naôsari, of which it gives a description, was consecrated on *rôz* Sarosh *mâh* Ardibehesht 1135 Yazdajardi².

بروز آن سروش پای رهبر : بهاء اردیبهشت نیک خوشتر
منه گریزد جردی رابدانی : هزار و یکصد و سی پنج خوانی

IV. Fourthly we have two old original documents, which lead to show, that Meherji Rana was specially and formally recognised as the head of the Parsee priesthood of Naôsâri, just after the event of his visit to Akbar's court. I beg to produce those documents. They are dated *rôz* Guâd *mâh* Tir Samvat 1635 (12th March, 1579) and *rôz* Meher *mâh* Deh Samvat 1636 (1st September, 1580). By these documents, the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, agreed that Meherji Rana should be entrusted with the work of the proper distribution of the income of

transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 60 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.

¹ Vide the fair MS. of the Meherji Rana library, ll. 20-24 of the *Kisseh*, referring to the fire temple of Naosari, p. 36. Mr. S. M. Desai's rough MS., p. 40. The recent MS. of Mr. Framjee Nowrojee Kutar, p. 8.

² Naosari Meherji Rana Library MS., l. 211, p. 49, ll. 9-10. Mr. Kutar's MS., p. 19, ll. 10-11. S. M. Desai's MS., p. 54, ll. 2 and 3.

the Agiâry (fire-temple), and that all ceremonies should be performed with his permission, &c. They thus formally acknowledged Meherji Rana as their head. I give in the appendix the literal translation of the documents ¹.

Of course, these documents do not say that Meherji Rana was appointed head for such and such services. But we must bear in mind, that even nowadays, when people appoint somebody at the head of their society or institution, on account of his status, social position, and past services, they do not always say in the resolution of the appointment, that he is appointed for such and such past public services. These two agreements show, that the priests of Naôsâri acknowledged, in the years 1579 and 1580, Meherji Rana as their head. Let us note here, that the years of the principal religious discussions at the Ibâdât-Khâneh in which the Naôsâri Parsees took part, and after which Akbar openly accepted the Parsee forms of worship, &c, were 1576 to 1579. So the date of the first document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their head, corresponds with the date when the principal religious discussions had closed. Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of the Naôsâri priests as a past event under the events of the year 986 Hijri, i. e., 1578-79. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind also, places the event of the Parsees bringing about a change in the mind of Akbar, in about 986 Hijri.

This fact then supports the tradition, that Meherji Rana was acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, as their head, on account of some of his services in the cause of Parsee religion at the court of Akbar. It seems, therefore, that immediately on Meherji Rana's return from the court, the priesthood of Naôsâri formally appointed him their head, to settle all questions about sacerdotal affairs and sacerdotal fees. He was already their leader, but they now formally appointed him and acknowledged him as such. The date also tallies with the date given by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnamêh,² as that, at which Zoroastrians were present in the court of Akbar.

Professor Darmesteter says on this point :—

“ Les Mobeds originaires de Nausâri, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité de la famille sacerdotale, reconnaissent un *Dastûr des Dastûrs*,

¹ Vide Appendix for the photo-litho facsimiles of these two documents. Vide pp. 147-48.

² Calcutta edition of Abdur Rahim, Vol. III., pp. 252-53; Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 59.

frêle image du Maubadân Maubad des anciens temps. La dignité est héréditaire depuis 1579 dans la famille de Mihirjirana, Mobed célèbre du temps d'Akbar, qui avait gagné une grande influence auprès de l'empereur et l'avait initié aux doctrines du Parsisme."¹

Mr. Dosabbhoy Framjee, in his history of the Parsees, refers to this matter, and says :—

"By his piety, learning, and irreproachable character, he not only gained the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, but his fame spread far and wide, even to the ears of the Emperor Akbar the Great, and he was summoned by that wise ruler to Delhi, that he might explain to him the tenets of the Parsee religion. It is said that the emperor was favourably impressed with the religion of Zoroaster, and bestowed upon the "dastur" a free grant of two hundred acres of land at Naôsâri, as a mark of his royal favour."²

Mr. B. M. Malabari, in his "Gujarat and the Gujaratis," says : "The Dastoor in India was a beneficent power even in Akbar's time. Those who have read of the Meherji Rana need not take the account for a mere rhapsody." (2nd edition, p. 177.)

There is a third writing, that leads to show, that Meherji Rana continued to be acknowledged as their head. It is the copy of a letter, addressed by a prominent Parsee priest, Asdin Kâkâ of Naôsâri, to the laymen of Div in Kathiawâr, which was then a Parsee colony. It is dated *Samvat* 1646, i.e., 1590 A.D. Therein also, Meherji Rana is referred to, as the head of the community. I produce a very old copy of the letter.³

V.—Fifthly, among the Parsees, there is a particular mode of commemorating the names of their departed worthies, who have rendered eminent services to the community. I quote from my paper, "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation." (pp. 30-31.) (*Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 434-435.)

"The Parsees have another custom of commemorating the name of a deceased person, if he be a great public benefactor. At the conclusion of the above Oothumna ceremony on the third day, the head

¹ Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction III., p. LVI.

² History of the Parsis, by Dosabbhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I., Vol. II., p. 3.

³ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile—*Vide* Parsees Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 9, and below, pp. 162-63.

priest generally, or, in his absence, an *akābar* (اکابر), i.e., a leader of the community, proposes before the assembled Anjuman, i.e., the public assembly, that the name of the deceased public benefactor, whose benefactions or good deeds he enumerates, be commemorated by the community consenting to remember the name of the deceased in all the public Oothumna religious ceremonies. This proposal is sometimes seconded by somebody, or very often it is just placed before the assembly without any formal seconding. When nobody opposes that proposal, silence is taken as consent, and thenceforth the name of the deceased is recited in all public religious ceremonies."

Now the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is thus commemorated in Naôsâri as that of a great departed worthy. It is not oral tradition alone, that has brought down his name as one of the departed great men, worthy to be commemorated in the religious prayers, but his name is put down as such, in old manuscript books of prayers, where, after the names of the ancient worthies of old Irân, we find his name commemorated. I beg to produce before the Society an old manuscript prayer-book where Dastur Meherji Rana's name is thus commemorated.

The manuscript prayer-book, which I produce, is one written on day Din, month Asfandârmad of the Yazdajirdi year 1078 (i.e., 1709 A.D.). It is therefore 192 years old. It is written by Herbad Jamshed, son of Kaikobad, son of Jamshed.¹

In this manuscript prayer-book, in the commemoration prayer, known as Nirang-i-bui-dâdan (نیرنگ-ای-بوی-دادان) we first find the name of some eminent men of ancient Irân, and then the names of some of the departed worthies of India. In the latter list we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana thus commemorated.²

¹ It is a large work of 438 folios or 876 pages. The colophon, which gives the name of the writer and the date in Persian, occurs on f. 363a, l. 12. It is lent to me by Mr. Manockjee Rustumjee Unwala. The colophon runs thus:—

فرجبد پدرو د شادی و رامشني بروز مبارک دین و بهاء مبارک
سفندار صد و پگاه باون فرزانه و سال اوریک هزار بقاد و هشت از
شهنشاه یزدجرد شهریار ساسان تخمه خجسته شهر ایران کاتبه کوف
من خادام دین بنده پیر به جمشید بن کيقباد ابن جمشید

² Folio 60 b, l. 4.

We have so far examined, at some length, the direct evidences in (1) Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh and (2) the Dabistân, and the indirect references, (3) in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh, (4) in the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and (5) in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, which clearly prove that it was the Naôôsâri priests, who influenced Akbar, and explained to him the Zoroastrian forms of worship, and that Ardeshir came to India after the event.

અખતેબર શને ૧૮૨૪ અગરેજી નામેજ દરીઆઈ ૫૧ મે એ દીને ધરદેર અવશતાપ દક્તર તમામ રામપુરજી ડીપુચે. એનું લખનાર આકશાર કમતરીન મોમેદ શીરાનજી ગુઠ બીઠ એ. પેશતનજી ગુઠ બીઠ એ. કુઈઅ ભાઈ બીઠ એ. ગુરાનજી લખને રેવાશી શ્રી સુવાલી બંદરનાએ લખી તમામ ડીપી છે તે કરતાં અશલ માફક નહલ ડીપી છે મગર ભૂલ થુક હુએ તો મેરેખાનપીથી દરશત કરેવી શમારેવી શહી * * ફરમાઈશ કરેલ લખાવનાર નેકનામ નેક શરજોમ નેક અશલત જુવાકુલત આહાલી હોમત યુલંદ શખાલંદ બેદેદીનાન બેદેદીન, શ્રી ૫ બેદેદી કેરખાજી ગુઠ બીઠ શુહેરાનજી બીઠ કડવાજી અદેક નાગેરે લખને રેવાશી શ્રીક્રામ ભરખબ બંદરનાએ લખાવી છે. આશ પોતાની ઉમેદ પઢવા તાઠ પઢવવાને શાર આશ પોતાનો જર આપીને લખાવી છે. એ કેતાલ ને કોઈ ચોરે તાઠ ચોરાવે તાઠ લઈજાઈને આરેવે તે શ્રી ઘદાર અનુરમતદનુ ચોર થાએ અને તે ઉપર હમેશા લેખાત હોજો ને લેખાતત માહા ગેરકુપાર હોજો, એકુનખાદ એકુનતરજી બાદ તમામજીદ નજોમ તમામજીદ.

The writer says in the above colophon તે કરતા અશલ માફક નહલ ડીપી છે i.e., "it has been exactly copied from another original." So the name of Dastur Meherji Rana must have been recorded in the original, of which this was a copy, and which original must, therefore, have been written long before 1824 A.D.

The prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan is written on folios 40 to 43 of this manuscript, and the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is commemorated on folio 43a, l. 2, as દસ્ટુર નેરજી એરવદ વાઝા એદરીઆદ બાદ અનુરીદ રવાં રવાની.

Now the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's name being commemorated in the prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdan, in a manuscript prayer-book written by a priest of Surat, for a layman of Broach, is very significant in itself. It shows that Dastur Meherji Rana's name and fame were not confined to Naôôsâri itself, but were known much beyond that town. This manuscript which is about 77 years old, and which, as its writer says, is an exact copy of an older manuscript, clearly proves that. Again, the fact, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is still commemorated in prayers in Broach confirms this view. Khan Bahadur Adarjee Muncherjee Dalal, B.A., one of the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Broach, in a letter, dated 17th November 1901, in reply to my inquiry, says, "the name of Meherji Rana is taken in our આફીન અને યુપ નીરંગ prayers as under. "દસ્ટુર નેરજી એરવદ વાઝા" before the name of દસ્ટુર અસપંદીઆર દસ્ટુર કામદીનજી" (Dastur Aspandiyâr Kamdin was a learned high-priest of Broach. He was the author of the book ફીજ તારીખ પારસીઓની ક્ષર referred to above (p. 28).)

As to why Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated in prayers in Broach, Khân Bâhâdur Adarjee says, that it is not authoritatively known, but the Mobeds say, "that it was in consideration of his high scholarship and his fame in the court of Emperor Akbar." He adds: "It will be noted that his name is recited just after the name of અરદેશર બાબેગાન (Ardeshir Babegân, Artaxerxes I of the Greeks) and just above that of દસ્ટુર અસપંદીઆરજી દસ્ટુર કામદીનજી" (Aspandiyârjî Kâmdinjî).

We have also examined, at some length, the evidences and facts based upon (1) the original documents about the grant of land by king Akbar, (2) an old song of Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar, (3) Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana's book written in A. D. 1765, (4) three old documents, (5) and the book of prayer written in A. D. 1710, which lead to show, that it was Dāstur Meherji Rana, who, as the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, explained to Akbar, the religion of Zoroaster.

III.

We will now examine the objections that have been raised (I) to the mission of the Naôsâri priests in general, and (II) to that of Dastur Meherji Rana in particular.

(I) Two objections have been raised against the capability of the Naôsâri mission ; (1) *firstly*, that the Parsees of Gujerat were ignorant at the time, and so were not capable of taking any part in the discussions at the court of Akbar ; (2) *secondly*, that Naôsâri itself, was a town in a corner of Gujerat, and was not in a position to produce capable men to explain to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

1. It is said : "The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadat-khana." ¹

(a) Drs. West² and Geldner² and Professor Hodiwâlâ³ have shown, elsewhere, that there was no such general ignorance, as that which is attributed.

(b) But it appears that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia, was not after all much better than that of the Zoroastrians of India. It is said, of the Zoroastrians of India, "We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low, and that there was no man among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood." ⁴ If that was true of the Zoroastrians of India, it was not less true of the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia lived among

¹ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 247.

² *Vide Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898. *Vide* Appendix pp. 165-66 for extracts.

³ *Vide* Letters to the *Bombay Gazette* in October and November 1896.

⁴ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 297.

aliens more unsympathetic than those among whom their co-religionists in India lived. Owing to this want of sympathy, their number in Persia went on diminishing, while that in India went on increasing.

. In the very letter sent to India from Persia in 1478 through Nariman Hoshang, on whose authority the above statement is made, we have a passage in which the Zoroastrians of Persia deplore their fall in religious matters as much as they do that of their co-religionists in India. The passage runs thus :

بدانند که در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومرث تا امروز هیچ روزگار سخت تر و دشوارتر ازین هزار سر بهشتم نبوده است و نه از دور ضحاک² تازی و نه افرسیاک و نه تور جادو و نه اسکندر یونانی که دادار اورمزد میگوید که این کسان گوان کناه تراند و ازین هزاره سرکه اورمزد گفته است که بهشتند و چهل و هفت سال که گذشته است پشترین روزگار بقر نبوده است اما بهدین درین زمانه کار گرفته کردن و راه اورمزد دسترس اندک است و نیرنگ و برسم و بوزدائرگویی و پاکی و پلیدی هم اندکی بجای مانده است و باقی از دست افتاده است چه از ایوان و هندوستان هم بسیار پاکی و پلیدی ره و رسم است

(Bombay University MS. of Darâb Hormazdyâr's Revayet, vol. I., f. 11b, ll. 1—7. Letter brought by Nariman Hoshang. The MS. of Barjo Kamdin's Revayet in the Mulla Firoz library, p. 336, ll. 7—16, MS. No. 2, VII., in Behatsek's catalogue p. 178.)

Translation.—They may know, that during the time that has passed, since (the time of) Kayômars up to this day, no time—neither in the time of Zohâk the Arab, nor in that of Afrâsiâk (Afrâsiâb), nor in that of Tûr, the magician, nor in that of Alexander the Greek, of whom Oharmazd the Creator has said that those persons were great sinners—has been more hard and troublesome than this end of the millennium of Aêsham (the demon). And previous² times have not been worse than this millennium, of which Oharmazd has spoken, and of which 847³ years have passed away. But during these times, the Behedins resort very little to works of righteousness and to the path of God; and very little of *nirang* and *barsam* and Yaôzdâçragiri

¹ Corrected according to the copy of Mulla Firoz library. B. U. (Bombay University MS.) has تازی

² Reading peshtarîn. If read pashtarîn "the most ignoble."

³ This number of years (847) also gives the Yazdajardi date, when this letter was written.

(i.e. performance of religious services) and of purity and impurity, has remained. The rest has fallen away from our hands both in Irân and in Hindustân. Many rules both of purity and impurity are in vogue.

Herein the writers from Persia complain, that the Behedins of the time are less after works of righteousness, and that there is very little of the religious observances of the *nirang*, *barsam*, and *Yaoz-dâçragiri*. They clearly say that the same is the case both in India and Persia. (چہ از ایران و ہندوستان). We thus see from the very Revâyet from Persia referred to as pointing to a poor state of religious knowledge in India, that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia was in no way better than that of the Zoroastrians of India.

Again, in the second letter brought by the same Nariman Hoshang in 850 Yazdajardi (1481 A.D.), they similarly deplore their own condition.

این ضعیفان چہارکس پنج کس هستند کہ اندر خط پہلوی راہ میدانند
فاما آنچه اصل است یافت نمیشود از سبب آنکہ بداد و سند روزگار
و تن و جامہ آلودہ شدہ اند

(Bombay University MS. of Dârâb Hormazdyar's Revâyet, vol. I., f. 136, ll. 6-7.)

Translation.—Among us poor persons, there are four or five persons who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But what is original is not known, for this reason that owing to oppression¹ and tyranny,² our fortunes, bodies and clothes have all been contaminated.

Thus we see that the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia at that time was not very enviable. Of course, being in their ancestral land, they had the advantages of having some of the old Zoroastrian books in their possession and of carrying on some of the old traditions of their community; but then, on the other hand, they were still under the iron grip of their Mahomedan rulers, under whom their number gradually diminished by conversion. It is true, that the Zoroastrians of India received from Persia explanations of some of their questions, but the mere fact that they asked for information from Persia, does not prove that they were, as alleged,³ altogether ignorant of the principles of their religion, and were not capable to explain those principles to their ruling monarch. Why, even now, several Parsees,

¹ lamentation under oppression. داد

² Lit. سندن taking.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

in case of difference of opinion or in case of controversial questions, or even in ordinary matters, address questions to scholars—to Christian scholars—in Europe and America. But that fact should not lead one, centuries after to-day, to conclude that the Parsees of India in the 19th and 20th centuries were altogether ignorant of their religion, and were not capable to understand or explain to others, their own religion. Sir James Campbell takes a similar view of the questions sent to Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. He says the questions sent to Persia were on “doubtful points of religious practice” (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Thana, Part I., p. 254). Dr. West takes a somewhat similar view (*vide* Appendix, p. 166).

(c) But we have other contemporary authority, to show, that during that time one had not always to go to Persia, to seek knowledge on Zoroastrianism. There were Mobeds in India, who could impart knowledge to seekers after truth. The other authority I refer to, is Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

We find from the table of dates given above, that Abul Fazl appeared at the court in 1574. His father, Shaikh Mubârak, was of the Mâhdawî sect. He had attached himself to the religious movement, which had first begun in 900 Hijri, and which was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islam, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. Abul Fazl also belonged to the sect, to which his father belonged. Mubârak was persecuted for his Mâhdawî views and for his liberal tendency. As Blochmann says: “The persecutions which Shaikh Mubârak had to suffer for his Mahdawî leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his (Abul Fazl’s) young mind. . . . The same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments, the clique of the Ulamâs whom Akbar hated so much.”¹ About this study referred to above, Abul Fazl himself says in his Akbar-nâmeh.

“My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia² or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pâdris of Portugal, and

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. x.-xi.

² Lit. boundary of Khata, a province in Northern China.

I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pârsîs and the learned of the Zend avesta."¹

Abul Fazl here describes his state of mind and his course of study at the time of his introduction to the Court of Akbar, which was in 1574 A.D.

Now then, if there was such a general ignorance, as alleged, among Indian Parsees, that none could explain their religion to king Akbar, who were the priests (*mobeds*) of the Parsees and the learned of the Zend Avesta, whose interviews Abul Fazl sought, in and before 1574 for gaining knowledge in religious subjects? They cannot be Ardeshir and his suite, because they came after 1592 A.D.

(d) But, for the sake of argument, take for granted, that the state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times generally was not good. But that does not show, that there were not individual members here and there, head and shoulders above the common class of men. The mass may be ignorant, but there may be individual members, at least capable to explain to the ruling monarch the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

2. In this controversy, Naôsâri is spoken of as a town in "a corner of Guzerat," and as such, it is supposed not to be capable to produce men, who could explain their religion to Akbar.

(A) But it appears both from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the *Akbar-nâmeh* of Abul Fazl, that it was a town of some

¹ Blochmann. *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. xii. This passage is quoted in the notes to *Akbar's Dream* by Tennyson. (*Vide* The Complete Works of Tennyson, published by MacMillan and Co., 1894 (p. 845). The following is the original Persian text of the above passage :—

شورستان خاطر مرا علاج مفید نمی آمد گاه دل بصحبت دانایان
خطئه خطا کشیدی—و گاه بهرتاضان کوه لبنان خاطر را میل پدید
آمدی گاه شوق همزبانی جوگیان ثبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه بمنفسی
پادریان پرنکال دامن عزیمتم گرفتی و گاه بمنشیني موبدان فارس
ورموز دانی ژند واسفا شکیب ربای خاطر شدی

Akbar-nâmah, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Abd-ur-Rahims, Vol. III., p. 84, ll. 10-18.)

"Et j'aurais aussi volontiers abordé les prêtres des Parsis et les théologien du Zend Avesta." L'Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l'Allemand, par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 305.

importance. In the time of Akbar's father, Humâyûn, one of the nobles of Sultan Bâbâdûr of Guzerât, who was fighting against Humâyûn had "prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausâri He took possession of Nausâri and . . . marched against Broach." According to Abul Fazl also, "Khân Jahân Shîrâzî and Rûmî Khân, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausâri, which was held by Abdu-lla Khân, an officer of Husain Khân, and he retired to Broach."² Being so close to Surat, an important city of Guzerat, Naôsâri could not long remain unknown. Akbar was at Surat, and so the town of Naôsâri close to it, may have drawn his attention also.

From the *Âin-i-Akbarî*³, we learn, that out of the 31 Mahâls of the Sarkâr of Surat, it was 19th in point of area, as well as 19th in point of the revenue it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 bighas and its revenue was 297,720 dâms. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."

(B) Even taking it for granted, that Naôsâri was in a mere corner of Guzerat and not well-known, the very fact, that Badâûni, the contemporary historian of Akbar, while speaking of the Zoroastrians, who came to the court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, mentions the town by name, and says that the Parsees were from Naôsâri, shows that he attached importance to Naôsâri, at least as a town which could send capable Parsees to the meetings of the Ibâdat Khâneh of Akbar. Surat, Rânder, Broach Ankleshwar and Khambayet (Cambay) were well-known as Parsee towns. Out of these, he names Naôsâri, as the town sending Parsees to the court of Akbar. If any Parsees from Persia had come to the Court, Badâûni would have mentioned that fact.

Out of the different Parsee towns, named above, Raner or Rander in the immediate vicinity of Surat, is specially mentioned by Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, as a town of the Parsees. He says (Calc. Text, Vol. I., p. 488, ll. 2 and 3). *وزردشتي کیش از فارس*

¹ *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. Munshi Newul-Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A. D., p. 198, ll. 21-23, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 197.

² *Akbar-nâmah*, Bengal Asiatic Society's ed. by Abul-Rahim, Vol. I., p. 142, ll. 20-21, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 15.

³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's edition, Vol. I., p. 498, l. 13, Column I., Col. Jarrett's translation, Vol. II., p. 257.

(روغن خوشبو آليا سازند که در هیچ جا نشود)

آمدہ بنگاہ ساختہ اند ژند و پاژند بر خوانند و دھمبا بر سازند
i.e., "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow¹ the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect funeral structures." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 243.) Thus, though according to Abul Fazl, Rander was specially known as a colony of the Parsees, according to Badâ'uni, and the author of the Dabistan, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who were invited at the religious discussions of the Ibâdat Khaneh. This fact in itself is very significant. It shows that Naôsâri was looked at, as an important town, as far as learning and religious knowledge of Parseeism was concerned.

(C) But there is another very important fact, which shows, that Naôsâri was then well-known as the principal centre of Parsee priests. It is, that when the Zoroastrian priests of Persia addressed their replies to the questions from India, they put down the name of Naôsâri and the names of its leading priests first, and then the names of other towns and their priests. We find this from several Revayets.

(a) In the Revayet from Irân, dated *rôz* Khorshed mah Abân 847 Yazdajardi (25th June 1478)², addressed to Changâh Shâh and brought by Nariman Hoshang,³ the name of Naôsâri is mentioned first, and then the names of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay.

The address runs as follows:—

نام ستایش و یاری دادار اورمزد..... بکام و نام و سایہ شادمانی
و زندگانی و فیروزی و بہ روزی کدخدایان و بہدینان ہندوستان
و سالار شہر نوساری جنگر شاہ و باقی انورن و وردان و پیربدان
نساری و دیگر سورت و انکلیسر و بروج و کمبایت (Bomb. Univ. MS.)
Vol. I., f. 11a, ll. 13-19)

¹ The word is *khâwand*, which means "They read."

² Vol. I. (folio) 13a, l. 2, Bombay University Library MS., which is written by Dârab Hormazdyâr himself from 20th April to 21st November 1679. *Vide* Dr. West's remarks in the beginning of the MS. p. 1, ll. 15 to 18. This particular portion was written by Dârab Hormazdyâr on *Môhê* (Mohôr) *rôz* mah Deh 1048 Yazdajardi, (i.e., 15th August 1679 A.D.) (f. 13a, l. 10). (Mulla Firoz library MS. of Barjo Kâmdin's Revayet, p. 335.)

³ *Ibid.* f. 13a, l. 7, Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 6.

این کتاب از ایران نریمان ہوشنگ بہروچی آوردہ بود کاتب الحروف
من دین بندہ داراب بن ہرمزیار بن فیاعدین بن کیقباد لقب
مہجنان ہر کہ خواناد برنویسندہ آفرین برساناد روز مہ ماہ مبارک
دی سال یک ہزار چہل و ہشت از یزدجردی

i.e., (By) the name, praise and help of God.....May they (live) in (the enjoyment of) their desire and name and protection and happiness and life and success and good livelihood,—they, the masters of house and the Behedins of Hindustân, and Jangê Shah¹, the chief of the city of Naôsâri and the rest of the Âthôrânâs (i.e. priests) and leaders and Herbads of Naôsâri and also of Surat and Anklesar and Broach and Cambay.

(b) There is another Revâyet from Sharfâbâd (شرفآباد) in Persia, known as Nariman Hoshang's second Revâyet.² It is dated rôz Daêpadin mâh Daê, eight hundred and fifty³ (A.D. 1481). It is also addressed to the Parsees of Hindustân, among whom those of Naôsâri are specially mentioned.⁴

(c) There is a third Revâyet, dated rôz Ormazd, mâh Khordâd 880 (A. D. 1511), from Persia,⁵ where the Parsees of Naôsâri are addressed before those of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ankleswar.⁶ We do not find the name of the messenger of this Revâyet.

(d) There is a fourth Revâyet, known as Shâbôr (Shapûr) Âshâ's Revâyet.⁷ It was written in Yezd and dated rôz Depâdar mâh

¹ Commonly known as Chângâshâh. In the collection of the Revâyets by Burzo Kamdin, we find the name properly written چنگ شاه. *Vide* Mulla Firoz Library MS. (Rehatsek's Catalogue VII, 2), p. 335, l. 18.

² Bombay University Library MS., Dr. West's contents, p. 6, l. 5; Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. ³ *Vide* Bombay University MS., Vol. I., folio 13b, ll. 17-18. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 504, l. 3. Dr. West and Mr. Patel give 855. I think Dr. West is guided by the reading of Mr. Patel, because the Bombay University MS., which he follows, gives 850. The passage of the date runs as follows in the Bombay University MS., (f. 13b, ll. 17-19)

فرجبد بدرد شادی و رامشنی اندر روز دیدین و ماه دی سال
هشتصد و پنجاه پس از تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار نیشته شد بجانب دستوران
و ردان و پیربدان و حکیمان و فرزنانک انجمن هندوستان

† *for* پس i.e. after the date of Yazdajardi (*Vide* Dr. West's remark p. 6, l. 4.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, folio 13a, l. 16-17. بجانب پیربدان و بهدینان و پیشوایان
Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. و که خدایان هندوستان و ساکن قصبه نوساری

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 16a, ll. 1 and 2 on the margin. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, folio 15a, ll. 9 and 10. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 508, ll. 6-7.

⁷ This Revâyet is spoken of in the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) as Câmâ Ashâ's Revâyet. (a) We have a very old copy of the Revâyet belonging to the Dastar Meherji Rana Library at Naôsâri. (*Vide* the printed catalogue of

Bahman 896, Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). Therein also the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first¹ and then those of Cambay.²

(e) In the fifth Revâyet, brought from Persia, by Aspandiyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam, dated *rôz* Khorâd *mâh* Ardibehesht 904 Yazdajardi (1535 A.D.), the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first and then those of Surat and Cambay.³

(f) The sixth Revâyet is that known as that of Kâûs Kâmdin written in 922 Yazdajardi (1553 A.D.) Therein the priests of Naosari are addressed first and then those of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay. (*Vide* below, p. 64, for particulars.)

(g) The seventh Revâyet, which I want to refer to, is that⁴ from Turkâbâd in Persia, dated *rôz* Shehrivar *mâh* Farvardin 996⁵ (1626 A.D.), brought by Bahman⁶ Aspandiyâr. It, also, is first addressed

the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library printed in 1894. Guzarati catalogue of Zend, Pahlavi, Pazend books, p. 64, No. 28. It is a MS. of 236 folios). *Vide* folio 101b, l. 10, for the name of the messenger. (b) We have another old, but a little later copy of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Manockji Rustonji Unwala. It is a MS. of 241 folios. *Vide* folio 119b, l. 11, for the name of the messenger. (c) We have another old manuscript of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria. Its colophon is lost. It is a MS. of 79 folios.

¹ *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1a, l. 12. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2a, l. 1. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1b, l. 14.

² *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1b, l. 3. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2a, l. 9. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1b, l. 21. The passages of the address and dates are quoted and more particulars are given below, pp. 66-67.

³ Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I, p. 8.

⁴ Bombay University Library Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr Revâyet, Vol. I, f. 69a, l. 1. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II, p. 453. For reference first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* p. 453, ll. 2 and 4 and 6, respectively. For date, *rule* l. 13. For the name of the messenger, *vide* l. 16. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I, p. 11. ⁵ *Ibid.* f. 69b, l. 21.

این نامه در روز شهریور ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۶ یزدجردی نوشته شد

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 69a, l. 19, and f. 70a, ll. 2 and 4. The following passage gives some particulars about the messenger :—

و معلوم دستوران و پیربدان و موبدان و بهدینان کشور هندوستان
بوده باشد که بهدین بهمن بن اسفندیار در ایران شهر در ولایت
ترکاباد تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون برای کشتی
و قوتان دریا آمده بود اورا توجش لازم بود و آنچه قاعدۀ دین
زرتشتی بود اورا توجش فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجای رساند و

to the priests and the laymen of Naôôsâri¹ and then to those of Surat² and Broach.³

(h) The eighth Revâyet is that known as the Revâyet of Bahaman Poonjiéh of Surat, brought from Kirman (این کتابت از کرمان). It is addressed first to the Dasturs of Naôôsâri,⁵ and then to those of Surat⁶ and Broach.⁷ It is dated *rôz Âdar mâh Bahman* 996 Yazdajardi⁸ (A.D. 1627). نوشتن شد این رقعہ نامہ بروز آدر نہم و ماہ قدیم بہمن باز دہم ماہ الہی سنہ ۹۹۶ یزدجرد

Thus we have the authority of eight Revâyets from Persia, all written in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to show, that in those times, at least as far as the Parsees were concerned, Naôôsâri was not an unknown town in a corner of Gujerat, but

اورا برشقوم کردیم و نہ شوہ داشت و خدمت آب و آتش ہا و آتش ورہرام آنچه قواعد دین بود کردہ تا واضح بودہ باشد دیگر معلوم بودہ باشد کہ خدمت خاتون بانو پارس کہ زیارت گاہ است ہم کرد (Ibid f. 69a, l. 18 to f. 69b, l. 1.) The custom referred to here, that Zoroastrian priests travelling by sea should perform a purificatory ceremony, is an old one. Cf. "Neither would his (Vologeses I.) brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld him (Works of Tacitus, Vol. I., The Annals, Bk. XV. 24. The Oxford translation.) The Ziârat-gâh (a place of pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânû, the daughter of the last king Yazdajard, referred to here, sounds strange in the ears of a Zoroastrian, but the statement shows under what kind of Mahomedan influences the Zoroastrians of Persia had fallen. For the story of this lady Khâtûn Bânû, vide Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 12.

¹ Ibid, f. 69a, l. 5. ² Ibid, l. 9.

³ Ibid, l. 11.

⁴ Bombay University Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Revâyet, f. 65a, l. 3. Parsee Prakâsh, vol. I., p. 12. This messenger Bahaman Poonjiéh is the same person as Bahman Aspandyâr of the preceding Revâyet. In this Revâyet also at one place he is spoken of as Bahman Aspandyâr.

و التماس فقیران این جانب آنست کہ گوشہ خاطر از بہمن بن اسفندیار دریغ نفرمایند و ہمہ روز اورا حرمت داشتہ کہ پسند ایزد است (ibid, f. 65b, l. 6).

Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., 449. For references first to the priests of Naôôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, vide ibid, ll. 7, 10 and 11 and 13 respectively. For the name of the messenger and for his good services f. 449b, l. 2.

⁵ Ibid, l. 9. ⁶ Ibid, ll. 12 and 14. ⁷ Ibid, l. 16. ⁸ Ibid, f. 68b, l. 20.

was well known, not only here, but also in Persia, as the centre of Parsee priesthood, and that the Parsees of that town took a good deal of interest in all religious subjects.

II. Against Dastur Meherji Rana personally, the following objections have been raised:—

(1) That he was an obscure priest.

(2) That his name is not mentioned in the histories of Akbar's time.

(3) That tradition attributes to him miracles, which are not referred to at all in the histories of Akbar's time.

(4) That he is reported in traditional songs to have invested Akbar with Sudreh and Kusti, the symbols of Zoroastrianism, which is not possible.

We will now examine these objections.

(1) We will first examine shortly the allegation, that Dastur Meherji Rana was an obscure priest in a corner of Gujerat, and was therefore not capable of taking an active part in the religious discussions and of explaining to Akbar the principles of his religion. I beg to produce (A) several old documents, and (B) several old manuscripts which lead to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, but that he was one of the leading men of Naôôsâri.

(A) Firstly, I will produce some old documents.

(a) I beg to produce an old copy¹—not the original itself—of a document dated *rôz Âdar mâh Aspadârmad Samvat 1622* (A. D. 1565-66), wherein Dastur Meherji Rana's name stands first among the signatories.² It is a kind of agreement amongst the priests themselves, to perform the religious ceremonies properly and conscientiously, to charge only legitimate fees and not more, and to give all proper account of the professional fees received, etc. Dastur Meherji Rana would not have signed at the top, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(b) I produce an original document,³ four years later in date. It is a document about 331 years old. It is dated *rôz Ardibehesht mâh Aspadârmad 1626 Samvat, i.e. 1570 A. D.* It is an agreement

¹ Vide appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 151-153.

² Dastur Meherji Rana signs his name as "Mâhiâr Vâchhâ." Mâhiâr was his proper name, of which Meherji is the popular rendering. Râna was his own father's name. But as he was adopted by Vâchhâ, he adopted his adoptive father's name. ³ Vide appendix for the photo-litho and below pp. 154-55.

(c) I produce an original document¹ of three years' later date, i.e., it is about 328 years old. It is dated *rōš Hormazd, mäh Shehrivar Samvat 1629, i.e. 1572 A.D.* It is an agreement signed by some of the leading laymen of Naôsâri, on behalf of the community in favour of Mahiâr Vaccha² (Meherji Rana), assigning him, in a place called (*𐬯𐬁𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬊𐬨𐬀*) Pipaliâ-wâdi, a piece of ground 10 bighas in area, with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees. This seems to be given to Meherji Rana, as the head of the priests, for religious purposes. They undertake that the land shall be maintained free of taxes.

These three documents, then, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that he was a leading priest, even before his departure to the court of Akbar.

B.—Now we come to old manuscripts.

(a) In the Revâyet of Dâ'râb Hormazdyâr, we have a letter brought from Persia, by Faridun Murzbân. We find it addressed to two Dasturs, the first of whom is Dastur Mâhyâr² (Meherji Rana). Judging from the names mentioned, Dr. West thinks it to have been written about 1570 A. D.³

¹ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and below pp. 155-58

² University Library Manuscript, Vol. I, f. 16b, l. 10. *Ibid.* l. 17 for the name as Faridun Marzbân; l. 19 for Fredun's name singly. There the name is written فریدون و مرزبان i.e., Faridun and Murzbân, as if the letter was brought by two persons, but the letter vâv for 'and' seems to be a mistake of the copyist, because later on the messenger is spoken of in the singular number. They say التماس است کہ از ہمہ طور اورا از کوشش خاطر نمایند نفرعایند (l. 19). Again, later on, the messenger is spoken of singly as Faridun (l. 20). In the references to this letter, the full name seems to have been taken as that of two brothers by mistake. (*Ibid.* Dr. West's remarks in Vol. I. of the Bombay University Library, p. 3, l. 6.) ³ *Ibid.* Dr. West's remarks attached at the beginning, p. 3, l. 8; p. 6, ll. 14-15.

I quote the passage from our Bombay University manuscript Revâyet. دستوران دینداران دین آموزگاران دین چاشیداران دین سرانیداران پتت گفتاران نیایش ورزیداران درست ارسناء راست داوران از نیاکان آذرباد بن مارسفنداه استوان دین زرا تشتی چو دستور مایار و دستور بوشنگ را یک صا هزاران درود

It must be noted, that Dr. West¹ says, that this manuscript Revâyet of our University library "is probably the original compilation of Dârâb Hormazyâr Frâmrôz Kiyâmu-d-din (or Kawâmu-d-din) Kai-ḡubâd Hamajiyâr Padam Sanjânah, and contains eleven colophons written in his name and varying in date from 20 April to 21 November 1679, at which latter date the compilation was completed." So it is about 222 years old.

(b) In a Revâyet² of 922 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Dasturs, Herbads and Behdins of Naôsâri,³ Surat,⁴ Anklesar,⁵ Broach⁶ and Kambâyat⁷ (Cambay), by the priests of Persia, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, put at the head of all. It is the Revâyet, known as "Revâyet-i-Kâûs Kâmdîn⁸ (1553)."

The commencement of the Revâyet which contains the address runs as follows⁹ :—

بدستوران و بیربدان پدشویان و کدخدایان و بهدینان و مینو
نگریداران مانقرنیداران اشای ورزیداران چون دستوران و کدخدایان
بهدینان قصیه نویسی چون دستور مایار بن و اچا دستور بهمن بن
چاندا دستور خورشید بهرام

The date of the receipt of this Revâyet from Yezd in Persia is given at the end, and runs thus ⁽¹⁰⁾ :—

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماه بهمن روز بهمن نهم و بیست و دو ۹۲۲
i.e. month Bahman, day Bahman, 922.

I produce an old copy of this Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. Some of its folios are missing, and

¹ *Ibid.* Vide his remarks attached at the beginning of the MS, Vol. I., p. 1, ll. 15-19.

² Manuscript belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala, pp. 177 to 190. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 177, l. 15; p. 178, l. 11. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179, ll. 2 and 5. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 8. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 10. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 13.

⁸ Vide Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I. Dr. West's contents in the beginning, p. 3, l. 14. Vide Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS, p. 201, l. 12.

⁹ Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's manuscript of this Revâyet, p. 177, ll. 13-15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190, l. 9.

among them, the one that contains the above date of its receipt. Again, some of the folios are not bound in proper order (*vide* pp. 15 to 22 of this MS. for the Revâyet in question; *vide* p. 15, ll. 7-9, for the address.) In the catalogue of the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library published in 1894 in the Gujrati list, p. 65, of Zend, Pahlavi, and Pazend manuscripts this MS. bears No. 30. It is a MS. of 76 pages.

Thus in the above letter, given in the Revâyet, and in the above Revâyet of Kâûs Kâmdîn, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana mentioned first among the leading men to whom they are addressed. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but a leading priest.

(c) Dastur Dârûb Pâhlan, a learned Dastur of Naôsâri, who lived from 1668 to 1735, and who was the writer of two works¹ on Zoroastrian subjects, refers to Meherji Rana in his Kholaseh-i-Dîn, written about 211 years ago (1690 A.D.) as a Dastur-i-mihin, i.e., a great Dastur. While speaking of Dastur Maneck Mehernôsh, he traces his descent from Dastur Meherji Rana, and says² :—

زئسل پاکتن مہریار رانا . کہ دستور مہین بود او بدنیا

i.e., "He was descended from pious Mâhiâr Rana, who was a great Dastur in the world." Here, then, we have the authority of a writer, more than two centuries old, to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but was a well-known great Dastur.

We have thus seen that, *firstly*, the above three documents, *secondly*, the above two references in the Revâyets, and, *thirdly*, the reference in the Kholasch-i-Din, written about 211 years ago, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged.

Not only was Dastur Meherji Rana the leading priest of his time, but his father Rana Jeshang also was the leading priest. I produce several documentary proofs to show this.

1. The first original old document³, that I produce, is 382 years old. It is dated *roz* Bahman *mâh* Bahman *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A.D.).

¹ Kholaseh-i-Din and Farziât namah.—*Vide* Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 31.

² Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. folio 18b, l. 11. It is a MS. 65 years old, being written by Jamshed, son of Manock, son of Rustam on *roz* Rashnê *mâh* Amardâd 1206 Yazdajardi—(1837 A.D.).—*vide* colophon at the end of the MS. The work was written on *roz* 6-6-1059 Yazd, *vide* couplet 732.

³ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below, pp. 158-161.

The Revâyet was written in the city of Yezd on *rôj* Depâdar *mdh* Bahman 896 Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). The following passage¹ gives the date, when, and the name of the city, where, it was first written.

۱۵۲۷ سالی در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶
 در یزد در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶
 در یزد در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶ در یزد در روز دپادار ماه بهمن ۸۹۶

(b) The second copy, which I produce, belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala.² It is a copy made on *roz* Khorshed *mah* Spendâr-mad in 927 Yazdajardi (1558-59) at Naôssâri from the copy of Yezd (*az* naskha-i-sheher-i yezd). The following passage³ gives the date, when, and the place, where, it was written.

۱۵۵۸ سالی در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷
 در ناساری در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷
 در ناساری در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷ در ناساری در روز خورشید ماه سپندارماد ۹۲۷

(c) The third copy, that I produce, belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. It is an old copy, but unfortunately, its last folio being lost, it bears no date; but the owner, who is the fortunate possessor of many old Parsee manuscripts, believes, from the quality of the paper and the writing, that it is an old copy.⁴

¹ Meherji Rana Library manuscript of Shâpur Asa's Revâyet f. 99a, ll. 5 to 11.

² It is a manuscript of 241 folios containing various subjects. For the address, *vide* folios 1, l. 7, to f. 2, l. 2.

³ *Ibid* folio 116b, ll. 4 to 11.

⁴ It is a manuscript of 80 folios. It contains nothing but this Revâyet. On comparing this manuscript with the above-mentioned manuscripts, I find, that the last three or four pages are missing. The passage of the address in this manuscript (folio 1, ll. 7 to 15) is the same as the above two manuscripts, except in this, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana's grandfather Jeshang is properly written.

We have so far seen then, that not only was Dastur Meherji Rana not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that it appears, from an original old document, and from a Revâyet written in Yezd in 1527 A.D., that even his father Rana Jeshang was well known as a leader of the Naôsâri priests.

Rana Jeshang was well versed in Pazend and Persian. That is proved by the fact that we have two manuscripts of copies by his own hand of two well-known Pazend and Persian books.¹

2. The second objection against Dastur Meherji Rana is, that his name is not mentioned in the history of Akbar's time. The fact of a person's name not being mentioned by a contemporary historian, should not always throw a doubt upon that person's existence, acts or influence. For example, Baber does not mention even once the name of his wife Gul-rukh, while he mentions the names of his other wives. As Mrs. Beveridge says, "this may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious." (*Humayun-nâmah* by Mrs. Beveridge). The fact of the Naôsâri priests' influence over Akbar, is clearly mentioned by Badâ'oni, the contemporary of Akbar, and even by the writer of the *Dabistan*, who wrote about 57 years after Badâ'oni. Still "the fact of his (Dastur Meherji Rana's) having gone to Akbar's court" is doubted "because his name is not mentioned in any historical book."² We must bear in mind, that as far as contemporary historians go, even Ardeshir's name is not mentioned by Badâ'oni, Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin, as having gone to Akbar's court for taking a part in religious discussions. But, if one is justified in doubting the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at Akbar's court on that ground, he must be prepared to doubt the presence of the representatives of other communities also. For example, as we said above (p. 32), according to Father Catrou, three parties of Christian priests went, one after another, to the court of Delhi. Two of these went later. The first party³ consisted of Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henric. The second party consisted of Edward Leiton and Cristophe Vega.⁴ The third party consisted of Father Jerome Xavier and Father Emanuel Pinnero.⁵

¹ *Vide* below pp. 169-71.

² *Journal*, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 296.

³ *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, translated from the French of Father Catrou, 1826, p. 105. ⁴ *Ibid*, p. 126. ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 127. *Vide* *L'Empereur Akbar*, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., pp. 326, 330, 331.

Of these seven Christian priests of the three missions, only one, Father Rodolph, is mentioned by one Mahomedan historian.¹

He is spoken of, only once in the Akbar-namah, as Padri Radif (پادري رديف).² If that is the case, can one be justified in saying, that the above missionaries did not go to the court of Akbar, because their names are not mentioned in the Mahomedan histories? Just as we have the authority of Father Catrou, who wrote in 1708, for the above-mentioned Christian missionaries, so we have the authority of Dastur Shapoorjee Sanjana, who wrote, in 1765, for the mission of Dastur Meherji Rana. If you accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians of Akbar's reign, in the one case, viz., that of the Christian missionaries, you must accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians, in the other case, viz., that of the Parsee Dastur.

3. The third objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission, is this, that tradition attributes a miracle to him. Folklore has attached to the visit of Meherji Rana a certain miracle, said to have been performed by him at the court of Akbar. A certain Brahmin

¹ The Akbar-namah (Calcutta edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 577, l. 4 and notes. Elliot (Dawson), Vol. VI, p. 85) speaks of one other priest, Padri Farmaliûn (پادري فرماليون) which one manuscript writes پادري فرماليون Bâdhari Farmaliûn, and another writes پادري فرملون Padri Farmaliûn). But he does not seem to have been a member of any religious mission. Abul Fazl says of him: "At this time (the 35th year of Akbar's reign, about 1591 A.D.) Padre Farmaliûn arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for securing translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."—Elliot, VI., p. 85. This passage shows, that he was called for a literary purpose, just as Ardesbir of Kermân was called a year later.

² Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim's Calcutta edition for the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20. The Editor adds a footnote, saying that the name is found رويق Ravik in some MSS. Elliot's MS. gives it Radalf (Elliot's History of India, VI., p. 60). There is one remark of Elliot in connection with this passage, to which I will draw special attention. He says: "Here and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre" (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 60, n. 1). Later Mahomedan copyists of books, at times, left off passages, that spoke well of the doings of the personages of other communities.

is said to have raised in the sky, by the force of his magic, a metallic tray, which resembled a second sun, and which Meherji Rana, by his prayers and incantations, is said to have brought down to the earth. But intelligent men should not allow such stories, attached by later generations to the names of historical persons and events, to throw doubts on those historical persons and events. Many a well-known name in the history of different countries, would not be safe in the hands of later generations, if we allowed such stories to throw doubts upon the historical events of their times. Why! Take the case of Virgil. There is no person, in the past history of the world, round the halo of whose name and fame, so many stories of miracles and magic have been put as those round that of Virgil's name and fame. The tourist in Naples even now, centuries after his time, hears dozens of stories about his miracles and about the magical power of his name. I heard several such stories while travelling there in 1889. But, for all that, we are not prepared to doubt the fact of his influence and his work. But why go further! Take the case of another personage of this very time, and of the very court of king Akbar. According to the Akbar-nameh, the Christian priest at the court, Father Rodolf, in order to convince the disbelievers in the truth of the Holy Gospel, offered to perform the miracle of passing through a furnace of fire with the Gospel in his hand. Here is the passage from the Akbar-nameh on the subject: "Twenty-third year of the Reign, (A.D. 1579).—When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. . . . *Súfís*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shíás*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chárbáks*,¹ Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly one night the '*Ibadat-khana* was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they

¹ i.e., Hindu materialists, *vide* p. 30, n. 3.

were nearly put to shame ; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kûran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *ûlamâ* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The blackhearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."¹

Here is the evidence of a contemporary writer, who attributes to the Christian priest a desire to perform a miracle. Well, from the fact of this statement, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of the visit of the Christian priest to the court of Akbar, and of his services to explain his religion to the king ? Of course not. How, then, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit, and of his influence on Akbar ? In his case, we do not read at all, in any contemporary writer, any statement about his desire to perform a miracle. It is some later tradition, that connects with his name, the performance of a miracle. If we are not justified in doubting the historical event of Father Rudolf's visit and services, on account of his offered miracle, referred to by a historical writer, we are much less justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit and services, on account of the story of a miracle, which is not even alluded to by any book of history.

We must note that there are several versions of the miracle attributed to Father Rudolf. Murray gives the following version : " At length, he (Akbar) sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith ; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand ; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection

¹ Akbar-nameh. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 59, 60. Calcutta edition of Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20—p. 255, l. 5. Badâ'uni gives another version. He says, that it was a Mahomedan Sheikh, who challenged the Christian priest to perform the ordeal by fire. (The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, by Rehatsek, p. 46. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 308. Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 299, ll. 10-15. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 191.)

to accompany him with the Bible ; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy ; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded. (Murray's Discoveries and Travels II., p. 91.) This is a version of the Christians. The two well-known contemporary historians of the very time of Akbar, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Badâ'uni, differ in their versions. One says that it was the Christian priest who offered to perform the miracle and challenged the Mahomedan priest to do the same, and the other says *vice versa*. Thus, when in the writings of two well-known historians of king Akbar's own time, some true or probable facts, with which Father Rodolf was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, there is no wonder, if some similarly true or probable facts, with which Dastur Meherji Rana was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated by tradition in later times. But, as from the fact of some probable events connected with Father Rodolf being so misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar, so, from the fact of some probable event connected with Dastur Meherji Rana being misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar.

It is said : "It need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badâ'uni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *Jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anupulao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the Dabistan, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history."¹ Well, the fact, that the authentic histories of Akbar's reign, do not mention the so-called miracle, connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name in later times, should rather go in Dastur Meherji Rana's favour, and *not*

¹ Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LIV., No. XIX., p. 293, Mr. Karkaria's paper.

against him. The fact, that no "highly improbable, if not impossible, event," is connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name by authentic historians, shows that his services were real and not flimsy.

Dr. West, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, says on this point¹ :—

"That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578, seems well attested by the grant of a Jaghir to him at that time; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth, which no educated Parsee of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts). It would be easy to understand that the Parsee's veneration for the sun, would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari."

As Dr. West says, it appears, that there may be "some probable facts" at the bottom, and that a myth has subsequently grown round them. Let us examine the myth a little closely, and see if any fact can be traced at the bottom.

(a) The story, as given in the song,² says, that a Hindu priest, by a sleight of hand, suspended a dish high in the air. This was taken by the king's subjects to be a second sun. Now, as far as the description in the story goes, the thing was a sleight of hand or a trick. The writer of the story says, that the king's subjects took it to be a second sun, and that the dish appeared like a sun. Dastur Meherji Rana possibly saw what the sleight of hand or what the trick was, and he may have exposed it.

Such sleights of hands and tricks and such jugglers were not uncommon in the court of Akbar. We read, that once Akbar

¹ His letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.—*Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898.

² Cf. the first stanza of the song "નિદેશ રાણા બરા નેક આ પુરા બરા શાહેનકા"
The lines describing the trick or so-called miracle say

(*vide* ગાંધીને રસપત્ર (1867) p. 574).

ગગન પુરને ચાલી ઊરાઈ બીર નોરો ગગનને
ઊરા ચાલીકા સુરજ દુવા રો મુરજ રોને બાદલને
રો મુરજ રોને રકંબેત શારી અપરત દુને અપને રસને

himself exposed the trick of a juggler, who said, that he had "the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to re-appear on the other side of the river."¹ Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed a trick of this kind, and later oral tradition may have exaggerated it into a miracle, though, from the written account of the story, we find, that it seems to be spoken of as a sleight of hand and trick; but from that exaggeration one cannot be justified in doubting the event of his going to Akbar's court and of his influencing the king.

We must bear in mind, that in those times, unusual extraordinary handiwork or skill in some kind of workmanship also, was taken to be a kind of magic. For example, a grandee of the court Mir Fathulla Shirazi once made a windmill which automatically ground flour. This was taken by people to be magic. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* says on this point, "He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement." (Elliot V., p. 469.)

(b) Again, in connection with this subject of the appearance of a second sun, we must bear in mind, that, apart from the question of a sleight of hand or trick, such a meteorological phenomenon is not rare. All books on Meteorology speak of mock-suns and mock-moons.² I quote here, from Buchan's *Meteorology*, the description of such phenomenon.

"Parhelia and Paraselenæ. At the points of intersection of the circles of the halo, images of the sun or moon generally appear from the light concentrated at these points, the images of the sun being called parhelia (Gr. para, about or near, and hélios the sun) or mock-suns, and those of the moon paraselenæ (Gr. para about or near, and seléné the moon) or mock-moons, which also exhibit the prismatic colours of the halo." (Introductory Text-book of Meteorology, by Alexander Buchan, 1871, p. 193.)

So, perhaps, it is quite possible, that during the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar, a phenomenon of a mock-sun may have happened. It is quite possible, that Meherji Rana might have said a prayer at the time, not with the view of performing a

¹ Badaoni. *Rehatsek*. The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, p. 82. Ahmed Ali's Calcutta Edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 22, to p. 367, l. 12. Lowe's translation of Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 378-79.

² I have referred to them in my book on Meteorology, pp. 303, 304.

miracle, but in the ordinary way, because it is not unusual, even now, among some of the Parsis, to say prayers on the more frequent phenomena of eclipses.¹ A Hindu priest may have attributed that meteorological phenomenon to his power of magic, and Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed it.

(c) Again, we find from the histories of Akbar's time, that a natural phenomenon of an unusual kind did occur at the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit. It was the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, just at prayer time in the evening. Perhaps the appearance of this brilliant phenomenon, though properly understood by the learned and the intelligent, was misunderstood by the ignorant and the illiterate, and so latterly it was misinterpreted. This phenomenon created a great stir at the court of Akbar. The *Tabakât-i-Akbari* thus alludes to it :—

“ Twenty-third year of the Reign. (A.D. 1578-79.)

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H. (11th March 1578).

“ At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinions of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstân, but probably in Khurâsân and Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawî, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia.”²

¹ *Vide* my paper on “ A Few Ancient Beliefs about Eclipses,” read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 25th April 1894. (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. III., No. 6, p. 360.)

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407. *Tabakât-i-Akbari*, Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijrî), p. 339, ll. 3-4. Elliot seems to be wrong in translating “ a comet appeared in the sky towards the east.” The words of the text are

ذکر ظاهر شدن دور دانه درین ایام در وقت نماز شام در طرف عرب
مائل بشمال دور دانه روی آسمان ظاهر شد

Elliot has translated the word عرب *Arab* by “ the east,” *Arab* does not mean east. It simply means ‘Arabia.’ So the translation should be: “ At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north.” Now as Arabia is in the west, the words may be translated “ towards the west.” This translation will then tally with the statements of Badâ'uni and Abul Fazl, who also say that the comet appeared in the west مغرب

As Elliot points out, Badâ'oni and Abul Fazl also allude to this event. Badâ'oni places the event in the 22nd year of the reign. (A.D. 1577-78).

و از اتفاقات آنکه در همان سال ستاره ذوذنابه از جانب مغرب
پیدا شد و در همان سال خبر رسید که شاه اسمعیل ولد
شاه طهماسب پادشاه عراق را همشیره اش پری جان خانم با اتفاق امرا
بقتل رسانید و نائیر ذوذنابه در آن ولایت ظاهر شد و
در عراق هرج و مرج عظیم افتاد¹

Translation. "And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. . . . In this same year news arrived that Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tashmâsp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amirs, by his own sister Pari Jân Khânam. . . . And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in Irâq the greatest perturbation resulted."²

The Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad places the appearance of the comet in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west, but the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâ'oni places it in the 22nd year, and in the west. Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh³ places it in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west.

Before coming to the subject of the appearance of the comet of this particular year, Abul Fazl gives a short introduction, presenting

¹ The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 240, l. 16; p. 241, l. 5.

² Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâ'oni, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 243.

³ The Calcutta edition of Abd-ur Rahim, Vol. III., p. 221, l. 24.

از سوانح پدید آمدن ذوذناب است بعد از نشستن زیر اعظم عطا بخش

عالم بکروستی مغرب زمین

i.e. Of the event of the appearance of a comet in the evening [lit. after the time, when the great luminary (i.e. the sun) which bestows favours on the world, sits on the seat of the western land]. As to the discrepancy in the year of the appearance of the comet, whether it was in the 22nd or 23rd year of Akbar's reign, Elliot thus explains it. "The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijra, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul-l-Fazl in the twenty-second (Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 403, n. 1).

his views of the occurrence of the phenomenon and describing the events of the appearance of comets in former years. He then describes this phenomenon in the time of Akbar's reign¹ (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.) in the following words:—

As the above passage² has not been translated by any author, I give my own translation of it:—

“On the day Ârâd (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Âbân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (i.e., the comet ذوزنب) kindled its brilliant face in the sign Saggitarius, faced towards the west (*bâkhtar-rûâ*) inclined toward the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries, belonging to the higher (i.e., celestial) assembly, explained it thus: “that among some of the inhabited³ parts of Hindustan, there will be

¹ Comte de Noer gives the date of this phenomenon as the end of October 1577 (Chaban 985). L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 262.

² روز آرادیست و پنجم آبان ماه الهی هنگامیکه نیر اعظم در برج
عقرب سعادت می افزود در برج قوس این نشان آسمانی باختر رویه
مایل بشمال چهره تابش افروخت دنباله دراز داشت چنانچه بعدی رسید
که در بعضی بلاد تا پنج ماه دیدند اختر شناسان آگاه دل و رموز فهمان
انچمن بالا چنین گزارش نمودند که در لختی از مساکن هندوستان غله
گواهی پذیرد و از جایهای خاص نشان دادند و فرمان روای ایران
روزگار سپری کرده و در عراق و خراسان گرد آشوب بر خیزد همچنانکه
گفته بودند بی کم و کاست بظهور آمد در همان نزدیکی قافله از ایران
رسید برخی از گردانان راستی منش بدرگاه همایون شرح گذشتن شاه
طهماسب و کشته شدن سلطان حیدر و بسلطنت رسیدن شاه اسمعیل
بعضی اقدس رسانیدند

(The Akbar-namch by Abul Fazl, edited by Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. III., p. 224, ll. 3-10.)

³ Or “the poor” or the “inhabitants,” “*masâkin* (pl. of *maskan* or *maskin* Habitations; (for *masâkin*) the poor; *musâkin* an inhabitant.” (Steingass.)

scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Irân, will come to an end, and in Irâk and Khorâssân there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Irân. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind, informed his Majesty, of the death of Shah Tahmâsp, and of the murder of Sultân Haidar, and of the accession to the throne of Shâh Ismail."

As pointed out by Elliot, Fergusson's list¹ of comets, included a comet, which appeared in 1577. It passed its perihelion on the 26th October 1577.

There is one thing in Abul Fazl's description of the phenomena of comets, which requires to be noticed. He says, that the phenomena were supposed to forbode evils to a certain extent, in the countries, where they appeared, and that there were *nirangs* (i.e. incantations) among the ancients for averting the evils. He says *و باندازگ درنگ و نوائج آن بظهور آید و نیرنگی آثار این در نگاشتها پیشینیان بیشتر* i.e., "Their consequences appear in proportion to its duration, and the incantations for (counteracting) the influence of these occur in the writings of the ancients more than can be described."

The *nirang* (i.e., prayer or incantations) of the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, seems to be the *nirang* of the ancient Irânians. We find from the Shikand Gumânîk Vijâr (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., Chap. IV., 47-48) that the appearance of comets was believed by the ancient Persians, to bring with it, damage and harm to the countries where they appeared. They believed that the resulting harm can be averted by prayers. Among the Parsees, there is still one *nirang* of that kind known as the *Nirang Vanant Yasht*. It begins thus *کل بلا دفع شود و دیو و دروج و پری و گفزار و سحران* i.e., "May there be averted all the calamities, and (the evils of) the Devil and the Druj and the Peri (fairy) and the Kaftâr (lit. despoiler of the dead) and the magicians."

We must note, that firstly, this is a *nirang* or prayer to avert the evils or wrongs from the *sahrân*³ (i.e., magicians or trick-players).

¹ Fergusson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster, Vol. II. (1811), p. 360.

² Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., p. 223, ll. 4-5.

³ Vide the last word of the quotation from the *Nirang*.

Again, secondly, we must note that as the *nirang* referred to by Abul Falz, is in connection with a star (and the comet is spoken of by Badâôni as a star *منارک ذو ذناب*) so the Parsee Nirang-i-Vanant Yasht above referred to, also bears its name from Vanant, which is the name of a star.

Now, Prof. Darmesteter says in his *Zend Avesta*¹, that the tradition, as he had heard it from a member of the Meherji Rana family, said, that it was the Vanant Yasht, which Dastur Meherji Rana had recited at the time of the so-called miracle. Perhaps he recited that *nirang*, or some other *nirang*, to pray to God, to avert the evils of the natural phenomenon that had occurred at the time.

I have examined this question of the so-called miracle, rather at some length, to show that, as Dr. West said, there may be "some probable fact" at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon, or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, *viz.*, Badâôni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, *viz.*, the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed, that the writings of the ancients (*pishinigân*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted those evils. So, they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*. Let it be specially noted that in Tansen's song, it is his prayers that are referred to as accepted (*vide pp. 163-64.*)

Thus, one or another of these actual facts may have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated in subsequent times. But for the sake of that misinterpretation, misunderstanding or exaggeration, the historical fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court, and of his influence on Akbar need not be doubted. Why ! more exaggerated things than these, and supposed to be more miraculous, have been attributed to Akbar himself by his historians. He is said to have had the power of miraculously curing the sick, for which reason, and for other reasons, some of his people prostrated before him as before their god. But such statements should not be taken as throwing doubts upon the historical events and acts of his life.

¹ *Le Zend-Avesta*, Vol. II., p. 644.

4. The fourth objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission is this. Tradition, as embodied in a song, says, that his mission so far succeeded, that he converted Akbar "to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith."¹ The idea of Akbar's putting on the sacred shirt and thread of the Parsees, as referred to in the song, is looked upon with doubt and ridicule. It is supposed, that a king like Akbar, who had his peculiar ideas of a new religion, could not have put on the symbols of the religion of Zoroaster. I admit, that Akbar was never a staunch Zoroastrian, as he was never a staunch Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu. But in spite of that, it is very likely that he once may have put on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, if for nothing else, for the sake of curiosity. We have authentic statements, that he put on visible symbols of other religions, like Christianity and Hinduism.

Father Catrou, who wrote the History of the Mogul dynasty in 1708, on the authority of a Portuguese manuscript of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who had visited the Court of the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehân, says: "Akebar took the Bible, placed it upon his head, in sign of respect, kissed the images, and made his children kiss them."² "He, on certain occasions, paid honours to Jesus and Mary. He carried, suspended from his neck, a relic, which he had received from Father Aquaviva, an Agnus Dei, and an image of the Virgin Mary."³ "On the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, he had caused a throne to be erected, on which the image of the Virgin was placed"⁴ "Akebar produced before the fathers the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. He pressed them to his heart and kissed them with affection."⁵ "It was no longer possible to doubt but that Akebar was in spirit and in belief a Christian. He was often present at the services which the fathers celebrated in their chapel; he assisted at their prayers, repeating them in a kneeling posture."⁶

All these are the statements of the Christian missionaries from their point of view. The Mahomedan historians, though they give an expression to his leaning towards the teachings of the missionaries,

¹ B. B. R. A. Society's Journal, XIX., No. LIII., p. 292.

² History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father François Catrou, 1826, p. 106. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

do not go so far. But even in spite of all the above public expressions of sympathy towards Christianity, the Christian fathers at times "apprehended"—to quote Father Catrou's words—"that dissimulation and policy, so natural to the Moghals, had the greatest share in the discourse of the Prince."¹

Coming to Hinduism, we find, even from the Mahomedan historians, that Akbar assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put on the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark and with the Hindu thread *rāl'hi* on his body. Badâ'uni says "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindû and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing. . ." It became the current custom also to wear the *rāl'hi* (راکھی) on the wrist." (Lowe's Translation, vol. II., p. 269. Relatsek p. 27. Blochmann. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Calcutta Text, Vol. II., p. 261, ll. 18 to 22.) According to Relatsek *Rāl'hi* is an amulet of string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna during the full moon of Srâvana" (p. 27 n. 24). It is still put on by the Hindus on the Nâlieri Punam or Baley holiday.

Now then, if Akbar put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus—either out of temporary real affection for these religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity—there is no wonder, if he put on, even for a short time, the *sudreli* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Parseeism, from which he had taken several elements for his new religion, as noted by several historians of his reign.

There is one thing, which draws our special attention in connection with this question of *sudreli* and *kusti*. We read in Badâ'uni in the account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) that Birbal recommended sun-worship to the king. There, at the end of the passage, the author says *وقسمه و زنار را جلوه داد*. Blochmann translates it "(For similar reasons, said Bir Bar should man pay

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

² Compare the words *جلوه داد* *Jalveh dād* here, with the same words used by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjānā about Dastur Meherji Rana in connection with his visit to Akbar's court (*vide* above p. 16. *همیشه دین بهرا جلوه داد*)

regard . . .) to the mark on the forehead and the Brahmanical thread."¹

Rehatsek translates this as "he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings." Rehatsek adds in a note: "Both are badges of caste; the forehead mark our author calls *qashqah* and the string *zenâr*."²

Lowe translates it: "That he should adopt the sectarian mark and Brahmanical thread." (Lowe's translation, Vol. II. p. 268.)

Now the word *zunnâr* (زنار) referred to by Badâ'oni, signifies, according to Steingass: "A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews, also by the Persian Magi), the Brahmanical thread."

Badâ'oni does not use the word Brahmanical. It appears that it is latterly that it has been applied to sacred threads or cords put on by different communities, but formerly it was specially applied to that used by the Persian Magi. Firdousi applies it to the *kusti* or sacred thread of the ancient Persians. For example he says about Minocheher³:

منوچهر بنهاد تاج کیان .: بستش بزمار خونین میان

i.e. "Minocheher put on the Kiânian crown and, bent on revenge, tied his waist with *zunnâr* (i.e. *kusti*)." The Farhang-i-Jehangiri,⁴ written in Akbar's reign, says of this word زنار—رشته را گویند که آتش پرستان با خود دارند i.e., "a thread which the fire worshippers put on is called *zunnâr*." It seems to me, that as the word *zunnâr* appears here in connection with sun-worship adopted by Akbar and with the establishment of fire temples, it may have been understood by some to refer to the *kusti* of the Zoroastrians.

As the word *zunnâr* (*zenâr*) has the meaning of *kusti*, and as it has also the meaning of "a priest's gown," as Richardson puts it, it is quite natural, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have been taken by some later Parsees—even by mistake—to refer to their *sudreh* and *kusti*. So, irrespective of the question, whether Akbar put on or not, the *sudreh* and *kusti*—it may be through curiosity—as he put on the visible symbols of Christianity and Hinduism, it

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183.

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm (1866), p. 25.

³ Mohl. *Livre des Rois*, Vol. I., p. 210, l. 1139.

⁴ Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. copy. Lucknow Edition, Jald Second, p. 121.

is possible, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have led some later Parsees to infer, that *zunnâr* meant *sudreh* and *kusti*. Thus we find, that if later songs spoke of Akbar putting on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, they had some authority, real or mistaken.

But then, it is not the Indian songsters and singers alone, who say, that Akbar was converted to Parseeism. Even European writers, on the strength of Mahomedan authorities, have come to the conclusion, that Akbar was, to a certain extent, a convert to Zoroastrianism, and that it was the priests of Naôsâri who brought about that result. Prof. Wilson renders the passage of Badaoni on Akbar's religion thus : "A number of fire-worshippers, who arrived from Nausârî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them."¹ Again, we have a German author, who says a similar thing. It is Comte de Noer. I quote him in the words of his translator Maury : "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat des disciples de Zarathustra. . . . Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés à Sikri et initièrent l'empereur à leur religion."² Thus, if it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who, according to these authors, led Akbar to Zoroastrianism, it is quite natural that Dastur Meherji Rana, the head of the Naôsâri Parsees, should have an active hand in the work.

Tennyson also, in his *Akbar's Dream*, takes the view that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. He makes Akbar complain of the fact, that the people railed at him as a Zoroastrian. Tennyson³ puts the following words in the mouth of Akbar :—

"The sun, the sun ! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the Eternal ! Yea and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love
For all thy rule—by equal law for all !
By deeds a light to men !"

There is one thing very peculiar in this passage of Tennyson. He represents Akbar, as complaining against the people railing at him

¹ H. H. Wilson's Works, edited by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 389.

² L'Empercur Akbar, pp. 314—15.

³ Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream."

as a Zoroastrian, and then as justifying his sun-worship : He says :

Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine."

Tennyson here bases his thoughts upon that very passage of Badâ'ônî, in which the word *zunnâr* occurs, and in which Birbal justifies sun-worship, and is supported by other learned men of the court who, according to the Dabistan, were "a sect of the fire-worshippers." Badaoni's words corresponding to the above words of Tennyson are :—

"The sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary."¹

Summary.

To sum up : We have the authority of four writers—two of them Badâ'ônî and Abul Fazl, contemporaries of king Akbar—to say that it was the Indian Parsees who explained to the king, the religion of Zoroaster. Badâ'ônî says that it was the Naosari Parsees who did so. The author of the Dabistan, written at least about 57 years after Badaoni, supports him in almost his own words. From these writers and from the author of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik Hind*, we learn that by 1582-84 the king had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar, and the Parsee festivals. The Dabistan adds one fact more, viz., that Ardesir from Persia had also come to the Court of Akbar by special invitation, and was questioned "about the subtleties of Zordusht's religion." This event had happened subsequently in or after 1592, long after Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, etc. So Badaoni takes no note of this event; but the author of the Dabistan, who wrote at least 57 years after Badâ'ônî, takes a note of this subsequent event. The *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* says, that the special purpose, for which Ardesir was called, was to help its author in the work of the dictionary, and that he was called in or after 1592.

Dastur Meherji Rana was the head of the Naosari Parsees. (1) Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjânâ, in his *Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Naôsâri*, written in 1765-66, clearly says that "he had gone to the

¹ Blochmann. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., p. 183.

court of King Akbar and had shown him proofs of religion." This statement is supported by further facts. (2) Two farmāns of King Akbar himself and two other old documents of his time affirm that he was given 200 *bigāhs* of land by Akbar. (3) There are three old documents, which clearly show, that just after his return from the court of Akbar, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head. (4) Old manuscripts of Zend Avesta prayer books, one of which is about 192 years old, affirm that his name was commemorated in prayers. Why was this? It was in recognition of services rendered to the cause of Parsee religion at the Court of Akbar, as affirmed by Dastur Shapurji Sanjānā in his book. (5) Again old songs, one of which is recorded in a manuscript about 110 years old, and believed to have been written by Tansen, the minstrel of Akbar himself, record the event of his visit to Akbar's Court.

Coming to the objections raised against Naosari Parsees in general, it is said that the Gujarat Parsees were all ignorant at the time of King Akbar. Drs. West and Geldner, and Prof. Hodiwala have shown elsewhere that there was not that general ignorance as that alleged. We have the authority of two letters from Persia, recorded in the *Revāyets*, to say that the Zoroastrians of Persia were not far better than the Zoroastrians of India. As to the objection that Naosari was an obscure town, and as such was not capable of producing capable men, we have the authority of eight *Revāyets*, one after another, to show that it was not so. Coming to the objections against Dastur Meherji Rana, we have the authority of three documents and two manuscripts, and of a work of Dastur Dārāb Pāhlan, to show that he was not an obscure priest as alleged. We have the authority of one old document and an old manuscript *Revāyet* to show that even his father Rana Jeshang was not an obscure priest. We have two manuscripts written by Rana Jeshang himself to show that he was versed in Fuzend and Persian. So Dastur Meherji Rana was a known and learned son of a known and learned father.

The main issues in this question are :—

1. Is it, or is it not, a fact, (A) that Badaoni, *under the events of 1579 A. D.*, says (a) that "the Parsees from Naosari proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines," and that (b) they "impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis," and that (c) he "ordered

Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings"; (B) that the Dabistan supports the above statement of Badaoni about the Naosari priests; (C) that Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh, under the events of the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, i.e. of 1578, refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions; and (D) that the Tarikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind says that in 1579 A.D. Akbar was led away from Mohomedanism by the Parsees? In short, is it, or is it not, a fact, that before 1583 Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship and adopted Parsee calendar and festivals?

2. As to the additional facts of Ardeshir's coming from Persia to the Court of Akbar, is it, or is it not, a fact that, according to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri Ardeshir was called for the purpose of the dictionary, and that he came *in or after* 1592?

If you decide these most important issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was the Naosari Parsees who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

Then as to the next question as to who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees the most important issues are :—

(1) Is it, or is it not, a fact that we have (A) documents of King Akbar's time saying that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land given to him by Akbar as *madad-i-ma'dsh*, a special kind of grant; (B) documents of King Akbar's time, showing, that at the very time, which corresponds with the time of his return from Akbar's Court, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head; and (C) a Zend manuscript about 192 years' old, which is supported by other later manuscripts, showing that his name is commemorated in a prayer as that of a departed worthy who had rendered some services to his community.

If you decide these issues in the affirmative, the question arises, (a) Why was it that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land by Akbar; (b) why was he formally acknowledged as their head by the priests of Naosari; (c) why was his name commemorated? It must be in reward of some services rendered. What those services were appear from the writing of a Parsee author, who, in his work, written in 1765-66 A.D., says that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the Court of Akbar and explained to him the religion of Zoroaster. This visit to the Court of Akbar, is referred to

in a song by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar, a song that is found in a manuscript written about 110 years ago.

If you decide all these issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naosari Parsees who had gone to the Court of Akbar. These are the main issues. Without deciding them, all other arguments would be futile and useless.

Before I finish, I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria has done gross injustice to Dastur Meherji Rana's descendants. He says:— "A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Meherji Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purports to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, viz., Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*!"¹

Now, I produce those very papers, which were placed in the hands of Mr. Karkaria. Mr. Karkaria has taken care, to get them initialled by two or three well-known citizens. I find thereon, among other initials, the initials K. N. K. and D. F. These two, are the initials of Mr. Kaikhoshroo Nowrojee Kabraji and Mr. Dosabhoj Framji Karaka, c.s.i. It is fortunate, that what Mr. Karkaria thought to be necessary for his protection, has turned out to be necessary for the protection of the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Mr. Karkaria says in the above passage, that the paper, with which he was supplied, purported to contain passages from Badaoni. I do not find anything of the kind. Therein the name mentioned, is *not* that of Badaoni, but it is that of one Abdul Kadir Badlani, and the book is that called *Vakaât Akbari*. Perhaps Mr. Karkaria would say, that by mistake he took Badlani for Badâoni. But then, in the paper given to him, Badlani's book is mentioned as *Vakaât Akbari*, and we know that Badaoni's work is *Muntakhab-al-tawârikh*.

Secondly, Mr. Karkaria says that he was supplied with passages purporting to be from Abul Fazl, "the excellent editions" of whose

¹ Vol. XIX., No. 53, pp. 293-94.

works (the *Âin-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-nâmeh*), he says, are "published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*." But I find, that in the paper given to him, the above-named books are *not at all* mentioned. The book mentioned is "*Tawârikh-i-Mâhânâmeh*."

Thirdly, he says, that the paper given to him, was said to contain passages from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. What he calls the "excellent *Tabakât-Akbari* of *Nizam-ud-din*" is *not at all* referred to in the paper, but the *Tabakât* referred to, is spoken of, as one, written by *Moulvi Abdul Nabi Sistani*.

In the case of all the three above-mentioned books, *Mr. Kar-karia* has given altogether wrong names. He represents the descendants of *Dastur Meherji Rana's* family, as giving him from three well-known works (*Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh*, *Abul Fazl's Ain-i-Akbari* or *Akbar-nameli*, and *Nizam-ud-din's Tabakât-i-Akbari*), passages which did not exist in those works, while, as a matter of fact, the passages are clearly spoken of in the paper supplied to him *as belonging to some other books*. Again, the worst of it is this, that he makes this charge, in spite of his being very clearly told by the giver of the paper, that the books, named in the paper, have not been found, though he tried his best, and that he was not sure whether the books existed or not, and that if they existed, he was not sure whether those passages were therein or not.

The fact is that those passages were given to the late *Dastur Erachjee Sohrabjee Meherji Rana*, the late learned librarian of the *Mulla Firoz Library*, by a friend at *Poona*, as being found by a *Mahomedan Munshi* in some manuscript books at *Agra*. As one taking an interest in all that related to the history of his family, he copied those passages in his manuscript book of family notes. Had the names of the books been those of the above well-known works, he would have at once verified the passages from the books in his *Mulla Firoz Library*. One of our vice-presidents, *Mr. K. R. Cama*, as the President of that institution, can certify, that *Dastur Erachjee* was a learned and diligent traditional scholar, and had written many manuscripts for his library. So, he could have easily verified the passages by a reference to the above works in his library, but as the names given were quite unknown, he simply took down the passages for what they were worth.

The gentleman who sent to Mr. Karkaria at his express desire, the paper containing these passages very clearly said, at the time, “એ કેતાબોની હયાતી છેકે નહીં તે જણાતું નથી. કારણ માહારી મુશાફરી દરમ્યાન મેં ઘણી તજવીજ કરવા છતાં એ કેતાબો મને મળી નથી અને કદાચ કેતાબો હોય તો તેમાં એ ફકરા છેકે નહિં તે પણ હું કહી શકતો નથી. મને તો જેવા મળ્યા છે તેવાજ મેં નકલ ઉતારી લીધી છે.”

i.e., “It is not known, whether these books exist or not, because during my travels, though I tried my best, I could not find these books. And even if these books exist, whether these passages occur therein or not, I cannot say. I have copied them as I have found them.”

Mr. Karkaria put in a para. in the Gujarati papers, asking for papers connected with Dastur Meherji Rana. A member of the family sent him those papers, very clearly saying that, in his travels, he had tried his best to find the books named, and that he could not find them. His words very clearly show, that he did not mean at all, the well-known works of Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. In spite of all that, Mr. Karkaria dares to say that the passages were “very likely a forgery by the copyist himself.” To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made a “pretended claim” for their ancestor.

I cannot conclude this paper, without offering my best thanks to the gentlemen, whose names I have mentioned in the paper, for placing at my disposal the valuable documents and manuscripts in their possession. My best thanks are due to Dastur Dārūhjee Māhiārjee, the present Dastur of Naôsāri, for kindly lending me the first original *Firmān* of king Akbar to be placed before the Society. My best thanks are due to Professor Shapursha Hormasji Hodiwālā for kindly lending me the old documents *re* the appointment of Dastur Meherji Rana at the head of the Naôsāri priesthood, and some other old documents. Most of these documents belong to Mr. Hormusjee Beharamji Dastur of Naôsāri. All those documents were brought to Bombay by Prof. Hodiwālā, from their owners at Naôsāri about 5 years ago, when the question was discussed. Professor Hodiwālā

has placed some of the results of his study in his letters to the *Bombay Gazette* over the *noms de plume* of Edie Ochiltree Junior and J. O. E. in 1896, and those letters have been of much use to me. I am indebted to these letters for many of my references in this paper. I offer my thanks to Mr. Manockjee Rustomji Unwala for some old manuscripts bearing on the subject. Lastly, my thanks are due to the Committee of the Naôsâri Meherji Rana Library, and to the President of the Mulla Firoz Library, for placing their old manuscripts at my disposal for the occasion.

Appendix.

I will give here the text and the translation of some of the original documents, referred to above in the paper. Firstly, I will give the two *farmāns* of the 40th and 48th years of king Akbar's reign, given to Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rānā, in which it is mentioned, that before the dates of the grants, 200 *bigahs* of land, which formed a part of the 300 *bigahs* granted to him, were given to his father, Dastur Meherji Rana, for his *madad-i-madsh*. I will give at the end, the photo-litho facsimiles of these two *farmāns*, together with those of some other documents referred to in the paper. I have to thank Mr. Jehangier Rustomjee Unwala for the photographs of these two documents, and Messrs. Cooper and Dhondy, of the New Litho Printing Press, for the photographs of the other documents. To photograph such very old documents is not an easy task, especially when some of the documents are too large to be had within the sphere of the camera at one and the same time. So the photos of some of the Persian documents had to be taken in parts and then arranged together on the stones. Then the lithographing of the documents was not, again, very easy. The lithographed stones had to be cleaned between the lines and the letters, to make the print distinct and legible. With all trouble and care the work has not been such, as one would wish it to be. However, I am indebted to the Education Society's Press, for the patience with which they have done this work and for the printing of this paper generally. My best thanks are due to my friend, Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unwala, for helping me in seeing these old documents pass through the press.

To help both students and ordinary readers, I give the old documents in type also. The careful reading of these old *farmāns* requires some practice in this matter, which I had not before I undertook the work. So I am indebted to Mr. Khodāyār Shehryār Dastur for helping me in reading them. A few words here and there are still not clear and legible to me, and a few words here and there may perhaps be read and translated by others, in a way, different from that, in which I have read and understood them, but that does not make much difference in understanding the documents as a whole. In printing the last portions of the two *farmāns* with the seals, I have printed it upside down, in the same way as it is written in the original *farmāns* (*vide* the photo-litho facsimiles). I have explained

the reason there. The *farmāns* are printed line by line according to the original documents.

Irrespective of the question of support, which these two old *farmāns* of king Akbar's time give, as evidence, to the subject-matter of the paper, they are very interesting in themselves. They are of some interest to calligraphists. Again, they are interesting from another point of view. They give us an idea, of some of the customs and rules, connected with *jagirs* and land revenue in Akbar's time. In this matter, they serve as illustrations, as it were, of the different *āins* on this subject in the *Āin-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl. So, I have translated these *farmāns* with the very help, as it were, of the *Āin-i-Akbari*. I have tried to explain the technical words and phrases, by means of the very language of the above book.

Most of the documents given in this paper are worth studying from their own standpoints of view. If I do not mistake, it is for the first time that such documents of Akbar's and Baber's times are printed. I beg to submit this appendix as a humble result of my studies in this matter.

(Translation of the first *Farmân*.)GOD IS GREAT.¹

The *Farmân*² of Jalâluddîn Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.³
At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the

¹ الله أكبر 'Allah Akbar' was the form of salutation, which, according to Badâ'oni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*salâm*). The reply to this new *salâm* was جل جلاله *Jal Jaldleh*, i.e., "May his magnificence be glorified." (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 356, l. 10. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 367. Rehatsek, p. 77. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 205.) It was in 995 Hijri (A.D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. We find from Badâ'oni that he had discussed the question of this formula with some of the courtiers before introducing it. We read in the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh:—

"In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allâh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Hâjî Ibrâhîm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,* and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ân *Laukrullâh Akbaru*,† because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 213. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 210, ll. 7-15. Elliot's (Dowson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 523.)

* "God is great" or "Akbar is God."

† To commemorate God is the greatest thing. لَدُّ كَرَّ الله أَكْبَرُ

² According to Abul Fazl *farmâns* were issued for three purposes. In the list for the second set of purposes fall the "appointments to jagirs without military service," and in that for the third set, fall "grants on account of daily subsistence allowance." (Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain 11. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I. pp. 260-61, Text I., p. 194.)

³ Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi (جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي) was the title by which king Akbar was known. (Vide the Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1292 Hijri (A.D. 1875), p. 242, l. 8. Vide Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâ'oni. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 8, l. 1; p. 9, l. 11. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 1 and 2.)

honour of publicity, that, Whereas, about ¹ 300 *bigahs* ² of land (measured) by the *Ilâhi gaz*,³ together with palm and date trees, etc., which are growing on that land, have been assigned in the environs⁴ of the town⁵ of Nâosâri, etc., from the *Sirkâr* of Surat, according to the particulars of the contents⁶ (of this *farmân*) for the purpose⁷ of the assistance of livelihood (*madad-i-madâsh*)⁸ of Parsi Kaikobad, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment⁹ of

¹ عوازی *mu'âzi*, nearly, about.

² According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book III, *Ain* 10) a *bigah* (بیگہ) "is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. قطعہ زمین است در درازا و پهنا شصت کن Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 62) "3,600 square *gaz*=2,600 square yards=0.538, or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ibid*, n. 1.)

³ According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book III., *Âin* 8) the *Ilâhi gaz* "is a measure of length and a standard gauge. پیمایندہ مقدار است و گذارندہ حال) High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, viz., long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *tassûj* (طسوج Pers. طسو *tassu*). A *tassûj* of the first kind was equal to eight ordinary barley-corns placed together breadth-ways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, &c." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 21-25. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 58-59.)

⁴ سواد *Sawâd* is a term used in the *Âin-i-Akbari* in connection with different *subâhs* or provinces (*Vide* Bk. III., *Ain* XV., Blochmann's text, p. 377, e.g., صوبہ لاہور بہشت سواد Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 110.)

⁵ قصبہ The Dabistân also calls Naosari a *qasabah*.

⁶ ضمون contents. It is a technical word used in connection with *Farmâns*. The *Âin-i-Akbari* alludes to it.

صاحب توجیہ آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد و شرح آنرا

در ضمن فرمان نویسد

i.e. "The Çahib-i-Taujîh keeps the former Ta'liqah with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân*." (Bk. II., *Ain* 11, Blochmann's text, I., p. 194, l. 13. Translation I., p. 261.) The particulars referred to, are given at the end of the *Farmân*.

⁷ وجہ "way, means, expenses."

⁸ *Vide* above p. 39 for this kind of grant of land.

⁹ تعین *ta'in* is a technical term of appointment for the different *mançab-dars*, *jagirdars*, etc.—*Vide* Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 242.

the Jāgirdār, from the season of *kharif*¹ *ku el*, so that from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). It is incumbent² upon the present and future governors,³ tax-gatherers,⁴ *krōrīdars*⁵ and *jāgirdārs*⁶ of that district, that, acting according to what is written, and measuring the above-mentioned land, and preparing a *chak*⁷, they shall transfer it to

¹ خریف *Kharif* is autumn. As to *ku el* the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III. *Âin* 1.), speaking of the Turkish era, says that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle, which Abul Fazl gives, we find *ku el* the sheep (گوسفند) as the 8th year. As to the word *el* Abul Fazl says that they added "the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year" در انجام، ریک لفظ ایل کہ بمعنی سال است برافزایند (Blochmann's text I., p. 273, ll. 16, 17, Translation Jarrott, II., page 21).

² سبیل *path*, road; so lit. it is the path or way for governors, etc.

³ حکام *pl. of حاکم* *Vide* Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 241, for these officers. He says, "The higher *Mançabdārs* were mostly governors of *Qubahs*. The governors were at first called *sipahsālārs*; toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called *Hākims*, and afterwards *Qāhib Qubah* or *Qubahdārs*, and still later merely *Qubahs*. The other *Mançabīlars* held *jāgirs*, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The *Mançabdārs* are also called *ta'inātīyān* (appointed)."

⁴ عمال *agents*, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

⁵ کوروی *Karōri* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *krōr* (10 millions) of *dāms*.—*Vide* *Âin-i-Akbari*, Bk. I, *Ain* 2.

و یک یک کورور بدیانت پیشگان جدگزیں سپردند
(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 10, ll. 4 and 5.) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *krōr* of *dāms*" (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 13).

⁶ *Vide* above, n 3.

⁷ According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* 6), it was the duty of the *amal-gusār* (عمل گذار *i.e.*, the revenue collector) to "ascertain the correctness of *chaknāmah*" چکنامہ مشخص گرداند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 287, l. 16, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 47). Jarrett says that the *chaknāmah* is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak* according to Elliot, is a patch of rent free land detached from a village." (*ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1).

the above-named¹ person. And that trying to bestow care in the settlement and perpetuity of that land, shall make no change or modification. And that on account of land-tax² and

¹ *مشار الي بي* *mushār ilai-hi* "abovementioned person." *Mushār*, i.e., signified; *lai-hi*, i.e., to him (Steingass, pp. 96 and 1242).

² *مال* *māl* "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass). The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* 7) explains this and some other words for different taxes mentioned in this *farmān*.

و در هر ملكي جز كشت و كار از مال مردم چيزي خوانند و آنرا
تمغا گویند در توران و ایران برخي را بعنوان مال برگیرند و عاقبت
و بائين جهات برستانند و لختي را بطرز سائر جهات طلب رود و
چندي را بنام وجوهات و فروعات ه خلاصه سخن آنكه آنچه براراضي
مزدوعي از راه ريع قرار يابد آنرا مال گویند و از انواع محنونه
گزیده جهات خوانند و باقي را سائر جهات و آنچه متفرع بر مال
باشد آنرا وجوهات گویند اگر بدیوان رود ورنه فروعات نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 12-16.)

"In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamgha*. In Irān and Turān, they collect the land tax (*māl*) from some, from others the *Jihāt*, and from others again the *Sāir Jihāt*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajūhāt* and *Fardā'āt* are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Māl*. Imports (P imposts) on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihāt*, and the remainder *Sāir Jihāt*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajūhāt*; otherwise they are termed *Fardā'āt*." (The *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., translated by Jarrett, pp. 57-58.) From another part of the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Āin* 11, on *sanads*) we learn that the entries about this *māl* or land tax formed one of the three parts in which the *Daftar* of the empire was divided. We read there

ابواب المال از خراج ملك باز گوید و افزوني و كمی بر خواند و
Blochmann's text, Vol. I.,
هر گونه خواسته كه فراهم آید در آن بنگارند
p. 193, ll. 22-23):—

"The *Abwāb ul māl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftar* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 260.)

imposts on manufactures¹ and capitation taxes² and the rest of the taxes,³ such as imposts⁴ and

¹ جهات *Vide* the preceding note.

² اخراجات from خراج capitation tax. The *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Âin VII.* on *روای روزی*, i.e., currency of the means of subsistence,) says of this tax (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 292, ll. 24-25). "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called *Khirdj*" (*Âin-i-Akbari* translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 55). In the same *Ain* it also said نموده باشند برای ملج نمودن انرا خراجی شمردن و خراج خراجی را بردو گونه پندارند مقاسمه از پنجم تا ششم بخش خراج وظیفه آنکه در خور توانائی و سودمندی قرار دهند و طایفه اصل مال ارتقاعی را خراج گویند و چون حصه آن گروه از خرج ایشان افزون آید بشرطی چند زکوة از آن بر گیرند و انرا عشر نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 5-9). "Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirdji*. Tribute paid by *khirdji* lands is of two kinds: (1) *Mukdsamâh* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. (2) *Wasifah* which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirdj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the Zakât is taken from the amount under certain stipulations, and this they call a tithe (Translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 57).

³ مائر جهات *Sdir Jahât*, *vide* p. 98, n. 2. Jarrett says of this word "In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the *remaining* of all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, a customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax, &c." (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 58, n. 1.)

⁴ This word is not clear and legible. One may read it قلعه *qu'la*. It would mean "anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money" (Stein, *gass*). I think it is the same as قتلغ spoken of as one of the imposts of king Akbar's time in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Âin XI.* Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 8). Another MS. gives the word as قتلغ. In Blochmann's text the word is marked as doubtful. Jarrett has not translated it, saying he "cannot trace it" (Translation, Vol. II., p. 67, note 1.)

presents¹ and fines² and village assessments³ and marriage fees⁴ and Dârôgha's fees⁵ and tax-gatherer's fees⁶ and five per

¹ پیشکش It appears from the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, translation. Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 66) that *pishkash* was one of the imposts (وجوہات *wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." (Steingass.)

² جرمانہ *jurmāna*, "penalty, forfeit, fine." (Steingass.)

³ ضابطانہ We find from the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain 15, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 417, l. 16. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 153) that ضبطی *sabti* is a kind of special rate for the revenue from crops. Jarrett says "*Abul Fazl*, employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village" (*Ibid*, p. 153, n. 1). The word ضابط means "a governor, commander, superior or chief." So perhaps the word may mean "payments due to the chief of a town."

⁴ مہرانہ *mahrānah*, "a fee exacted by the Qâzi from the Muhammadans at weddings." (Steingass.) Perhaps this is a reference to the marriage tax of king Akbar's time, referred to by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari*. (Bk. II., Ain 24 on کدخدائی marriage. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 201, Translation, Vol. I., pp. 277-78.) The tax varied according to the position of the parties. "The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one *dām*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (*Ibid*, p. 278). Abul Fazl says of this tax that Akbar took it to enable the parties "to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious." (*Ibid*, p. 278).

⁵ داروغانہ According to the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI. Blochmann's text, p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66.) Dârô-ghāna was one of the imposts (*wajûhât*) of king Akbar's time. Dârôgha according to Steingass is the "headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department."

⁶ محصلانہ "Fees of the bailiff or tax-gatherer" (Steingass). I think it is the same impost as that spoken of as تحصیلداری (*tahsildar's fees*) in the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66).

cent¹ tax and two per cent² tax and *kānūngūi*,³ (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens⁴ for cultivation and gardening and *zakāt*⁵ of duties on

¹ *deh-nīm* (Lit. half of ten, i.e.) five per cent. This tax on manufactures is alluded to in the *Āin-i-Akbārī* (Bk. III, *Āin* XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 300, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66). This and the following two imposts, viz., *sad-dāi*, i.e., two per cent., and *kānūngūi* are explained in the following passage of the above-mentioned 11th *Āin* (Blochman's Text I., Vol. 1, p. 300, ll. 21-24):—

شهریار آگاه دل در مال بدانسان که گذارش یافت نوازش فرمود
درجهات ده یک بخشوده ده نیم قرار داد و صدوئی پتواری نصفی بدو
ونیمی بقانون گو باز گردد و نخستین نویسنده ایست ازطرفی برزگران
خرج و دخل نویسد و بیج دیه بی او نباشد و پسین ملاز کشاورزان و در
برپرگنه یکی بود و امروز حصص قانونگو بر انداختند و بشرط خدمت
گزینی سه گونه از درگاه یابند

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. (*deh-nīm*), and two per cent (*sad-dāi*) was divided between the *patwārī* and the *kānūngū*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandman. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kānūngū* (one per cent.) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank."

² *Vide* the above note. Lit. two in the hundred, i.e., two per cent.

³ *Vide* the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kānūngū*:—"An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwārīs* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, &c., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildār* (Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 47, n. 3).

⁴ *تکرار* also means 'disputes' and 'repetitions'.

⁵ This word is written *زکوة* or *زکاة*. *Vide* above, p. 99, n. 2, for this word.

From the passage of the 8th *Āin* of the *Āin-i-Akbārī* there quoted, it appears, that this impost amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarrett says as follows of this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby, the root of the word, *زکاة*, denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p. c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (*Āin-i-Akbārī*, II., Jarrett, p. 57, n. 4).

manufactures¹ and assessments,² no molestations should be given him every year, after (i.e. beyond) the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and all civil taxes³ and all royal revenue. And (that) excusing and absolving⁴ him of all charges,⁵ they should not go round (him)⁶ and should not ask every year for renewed⁷ *farmāns* and *parwānahs*⁸ in this matter. And that when (it, i. e. the *Farmān*) comes with the royal signet⁹ of His most exalted¹⁰ Majesty, they should rely upon it. Written on the tenth of the last month Asfandārmaz of the 40th *ilāhi* year.¹¹

Explanation of the Ta'liqah.¹²

¹ جهات "Duties on manufactures" (Steingass). *Vide* the passage quoted on p. 98, n. 2, from the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., 7th *Ain*).

² ضبط *Vide* the reference to the 15th *Ain* (Bk. III.) on p. 100, n. 3, for this word.

³ تكاليف pl. of تكليف "impositions, levies, taxes."

⁴ موقوف القلم *marfū'ul qalam*, absolved, remitted.

⁵ حوالات pl. of حوالاة transfer, commitment, charge, care.

⁶ پیرامون گردیدن To go round. Here the meaning is, that the officials should not go round him, or round his land, i.e., should, in no way, disturb or molest him. ⁷ Arab. مجدد *mujaddad*, renewed.

⁸ The *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Ain* 11.) says کما فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 195, ll. 7-8). "Firmāns are sometimes written in *Tughra* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmān* is called a *Parwānah*. (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 263).

⁹ توقيع *tauqi'* "signing with the royal signet; the royal signet put to diplomas, letters patent and other public deeds." (Steingass.)

¹⁰ اعلیٰ *a'la* most exalted. The word looks like this, but it may be جل (most glorious), which we find in its stead in the second *farmān*. This sentence may refer to the person. ¹¹ *Ros.* 10-12-964, i. e., 1595.

¹² *Sharh-i-ta'liqah*, تعلیق شرح *ta'liqah* is a technical term used in the *Āin-i-Akbari* for an abridgment of the *yaddāsh* (i. e., memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmāns*, etc. Its explanation in details is said to be its شرح *sharh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th *Āins* will explain who made this *yaddāsh*, or memorandum and *ta'liqah* or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th *Ain* on the واقع نویس *waqiahnawis* (i. e., the writer of events). "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn

(His Majesty) had ordered on the date, the 13th day Tir, month Abân, *ilâhî* year 40, that about three hundred *bigâhs* of land, together with palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, may be assigned, in the environs of the town of Nâsârî, &c., as detailed below¹, for the purpose of the assistance of

(نوبت *naâbat*) of each comes after a fortnight Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; appointments to mançabs; contingents; of troops; salaries; jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwânchi*, by the *Mir 'Arz*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yâddâsht* (پادداشت) or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yâddâsht* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yâddâsht*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wâqiah-nawis*, and the *Risâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Dârogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Ta'liqah* and the writer is called *Taliqahnawis*. The *Ta'liqah* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 258-259, Text I., pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th *Âin* then explains the terms *ta'liqah* تعلیقہ (abridgment of memorandum), *wâqî'ah* واقعه (event or record), *wâqî'ahnawis* واقعہ نویس (writer of records), and *risâlah* رساله (writing or record) which occur in these *Farmâns*.

The following passage of the 11th *Âin* explains why this *Taliqah* or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the *Farmân*. "The *Çâhib-i-Taujîh* (صاحب توجیه or Military accountant) keeps the former *Taliqah* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân* (صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد و شرح) and seals and signs it. It is then (آنرا در ضمیمہ فرمان نویسد) inspected by the *Mustaufi* and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Nâssir* and the *Bakhshis* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the *Diwân*, his Accountant, and the *Vakil* of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 261-62, Text I., pp. 194, ll. 13-14.)

¹ از قرار تفصیل ذیل or بموجب تفصیل ذیل "appendix, postscript." ذیل "as detailed below; in accordance with the following statement." (Steingass.)

livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr. Whereas, before this time, on the 15th day of the month Meher, *ildhi* year 40, an order was issued (which) as it had not been entered with particulars into the records,¹ it has been entered in details in the *rasûlah* and *chauki*,² of A'illâmî³. Shaik Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments; overflows in power, and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge, and in the *naubat* of the *waqiah* of Khwâjah Muizzuddin Hussain.

The marginal note (written) by the hand of *Wâqiah-nawis*. The explanation of the text⁴ is according to the record of humblest slave Muizzuddin Hussain.

¹ واقعہ *wâqi'ah*, an event, record. واقعہ نویس *wâqi'ahnawis* or recorder was an officer in king Akbar's time, in each Çubâh. There is a separate Âin (Bk. II. in Âin 10) about his work in the Âin-i-Akbari (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 25, Translation, Vol. I., p. 258). His duty is thus described in the above âin
فرومودہ و کارکرد گیتی خداوند برنویسد..... منصب تابین ماہدانہ جاگیر..

"Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty appointments to mançabs; contingents of troops; salaries; *Jagirs*."

² The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin IX., the âin of کَشک, i.e., hall or parlour) seems to explain this word.

بزیان وقت چوکی خوانند مہ گونہ بود سپاہ چہار گونہ ہفت بخش
شد و ہر یک بروزی نامزد و امیری بزرگ ہوش بسر کردگی سرافراز
یکی از طرزدانان معاملہ شناس بمیر عرضی چہرہ افروز سعادت
گردد و ہمگی احکام خلافت بشناسائی این دو فروہیدہ صود روائی
کیدود شبانروزی پیرامن دولخانہ بہ نیایش ایستند و در انتظار فرمایش
بنشینند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I, p. 192, ll. 4-7.) "Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chauki*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy Mançabdâr. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as Mir'Arz. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 257). It appears, that the particular officer, in whose turn of *chauki* the king issued orders or Farmâns, took notes in his books. * علامی, very learned. It was a title given by Akbar to Abul Fazl. (Badaoni Text II., p. 198, l. 11, Lowe II, p. 201).

⁴ متن *matn*, the text of a book.

Another *sharh* (is) in the hand of Mulla Nazar. From the assignment of the Jâgirdâr the assignment¹ should be made with the *ilâhi gaz* from the season of *kharif kuel*.

300 *bigâhs*.

Village² Erui³ in the
*paragnah*⁴ Pârchôl.

In the environs (*sawâd*) of the town of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.

100 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.

200 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.⁵

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, of the lines on the margin which give dates, and of the lines under the different seals.

1. (First marginal line.) Date 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.⁶ (It is not clear what the figure ۲ (two) in the beginning indicates.)

2. (Second marginal line.) Copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin Ilâhi, year 41.

3. (The two lines on the first fold.) In the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Nawâb Shaikh Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, diffuses power and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge and in the *naubat* (turn) of the Wâqiahnawis Muizzuddin Hussain with *sah*.⁷

4. (Seal No. 1) Khân Khânân, the follower of king Akbar.

5. (Seal No. 2) Mirzâ Kokâh.

(Seals Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, not legible.)

6. (Seal No. 6) Humblest slave, Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini.

¹ نسخہ "an assignment on lands."

² قریہ *karya* village.

³ Vide above, p. 40, n. 5. ⁴ According to Elliot *Sarkâr* is "a district into which *parganahs* are aggregated." Jarrett (*Âin-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 114 n.) says, "Each *sûbah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkârs* and each *sarkâr* into *parganahs* or *mahals*."

⁵ صحیح i. e. with صحیح *sah*, which is an abbreviation of صحیح *sahih*, i. e. "official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed."

⁶ Perhaps this is the marginal note of the *Waqiahnawis*, as referred to in the *Farmân* as the marginal *sharh*, of the *waqiahnawis*.

⁷ The last word after this is the same as that written above under the figures 100 and 200.

7. (Date under Seal No. 7.) Entered on day 7 (?) month Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

8. (Date under Seal No. 8.) Entered on day (?), month Ardibehesht, year 41. (There are one or two words at the end which are not legible or intelligible.)

9. (Seal No. 9.) Nazar Ali bin Hussain.

10. (Date under Seal No. 9.) Written on the day, the first day (*ghurra*), of the month Farvardin, year 41.

11. (Seal No. 10) Praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin.

12. (Date under Seal No. 10.) Became informed on day 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

13. (Seal No. 11) Servant Hussain Kamâluddin.

14. (Date under Seal No. 11) Written on 29 Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

Having given the translation of the first *farmân*, we will now examine the seals on the *farmân*. We have, at the top of the *farmân*, the seal of His Majesty. This is just in conformity to what Abul Fazl says about the position of king Akbar's seal. He says, "The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra*¹ lines on the top of the *farmân*," (vol. I., p. 264) (قدسی مہر فراز طغرا روی فرمان آراید) (lit. the holy seal adorns the face of the *farmân* above the *Tughra*). King Akbar's seal on our *farmân* is just at the top and just above the lines in which the title and name of the king are written.

As to the form of Akbar's seal, Abul Fazl, in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. I., Âin. 20), says, as follows, about the royal seals. (نگین شہنشاہی).

"In the beginning of the present reign, Manlânâ Maqqud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ'* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Tîmûrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal in the *nastâliq* character, only with His Majesty's name The round small seal goes by the (*chagatai*) name of Uruk, and is used for *Farmân-i-sabtis*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for

¹ طغرا "The royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds which are generally written in a fine ornamental hand; a sort of writing."—Steingass.

letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both." (Blochmann's translation I, p. 52, Text I., p. 47, l. 18.) The seal on the two *farmāns* given to Dastur Meherji Rana's son Kaikobād, in which the 200 bigāhs of land given to Meherji Rana are referred to, is the large one in which the names of Akbar's ancestors are mentioned. The following list, prepared from the pedigree of the house of Timur, given in Elphinstone's *History of India*,¹ gives the names of Akbar's ancestors.

Timur—Mirān Shāh Hosein—Mohammed Mirzā—Abū Said—Omar Shekh—Bāber—Humāyūn—Akbar. This list gives us eight names, Timur and Akbar included.

The circular seal of Akbar on the *farmāns* in question, has eight circles, each of which contains the name of one of the above-named eight kings. The central circle is a large one and contains the name of king Akbar himself. The document being very old, the photo and the photo-litho have not come out as one would wish. But in the original document, one can decipher the names with a magnifying glass, though with a little difficulty.

The king's name in the central circle is Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh. The name is read from below.

Exactly above the circle of his name, stands the circle, containing his ancestor Timur's name. It is "ibn Amir Timur Saheb-i-quirān." Saheb-i-quirān was a title of Timur. The word "*ibn*" is used in the sense of "son" with all names except that of Akbar. It means that the first named was the son of the next and so on up to Timur. Just as now-a-days, in round seals and monograms, people arrange their names and initials in the best stylish way they like, so we find it in the case of the above seal and names. ابن امير تيمور صاحب قران is the order in which the name seems to be written from below.

Coming down by the left, from the top circle, which contains Timur's name, we find one by one, the names of his descendants. In the first circle, on the left coming down from the top, we read ابن ميران شاه *ibn-i-Mirān Shāh*. This is Timur's son, Mirān Shāh Hosein of Elphinstone's list. The next name lower down is *ibn-i-Sultān* Muhammed Mirzā. Then comes the name at the bottom, *ibn-i-Sultān* Abul-Said. In all these last three names, the word *ibn* begins the line from the

¹ Fifth Edition by Cowell (1866), p. 773.

bottom and the word Sultân is above it. Then going up on the right from below, we have the name ibn Mirzâ Omar Shekh. Then we have in the ascending order the two familiar names, ibn-Bâdshâh Bâbar and ibn Bâdshâh Hûmâyûn. The order of the names in the seal would be Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh, the son of Bâdshâh Humâyûn, the son of Bâdshâh Bâbar, and so on up to Timur. The document being very old, the deciphering of some of the names is a little difficult.

Now we will examine the seals of the different officers placed at the end of the document. In those times, seals took the place of signatures of the present day. Abul Fazal says in his *Âin-i-Akbari* on this point

بل ہر کسوة را در معاملہ ناگزیر i. e. "in fact every man requires them in his transactions" (Blochmann's text, I., p. 47, ll. 17, 18. Translation I., p. 52, Bk. I., Ain, 20). Blochmann says, "We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." (*ibid* n 2).

There are altogether eleven seals attached to the document, besides that of the king at the commencement. Of these eleven, six are more or less legible and five are illegible. The way, in which the seals are affixed, as well as the names on the seals, require an explanation. To enable the reader to follow me in this explanation, I have put in the printed Persian copy of the *farmân*, progressive numbers in English figures over the circles of the seals.

The position of the seals can be more exactly ascertained by looking to the photo-lithographed fac simile.

First of all, we notice, that the position of the document, after the mention of the situation of the 300 *bighâhs*, is inverted, i. e., the signatories turn the document upside down, as it were, and then proceed to put down their seals and their statements about the dates on which the documents were noted in their respective records (*vide* the original photo-litho facsimile). The reason, why these seals appear in an inverted order, is explained by the following paragraph of the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II, Ain 12), which says that the seals were put in the order of the folds (شکنجی) of the document. So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document, where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the *Âin-i-Akbari* on this subject says:—

"Farmâns, Parwanchahs, and Barâtas, are made into several

folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold¹ which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakîl puts his seal; opposite to it, but a little lower, the Mushrif² of the Diwân³ puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the Çadr. But when Shaikh-ʿAbdunnabî and Sultân Khwâjah were Çadrs, they used to put their seals opposite to that of the Vakîl. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakîl. . . The Mîr Mâl, the Khân Sâmân, the Parwâncî, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the Diwân, and the Bakhshî do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the Diwân-i-juz, the Bakhshî-i-juz, and the Diwân-i-Buyûtât put their seals on the third fold. The Mustanfî puts his seal on the fourth, and the Çâhib-i-Taujih on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrâ* lines on the top of the Farmân, where the princes also put their seals in *Taʿliqahs*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 195, l. 19. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 263-64.)

We must note, that this is a general statement for the positions of the seals of the officers named in the passage, when they have to sign documents. It applies to *farmâns*, *parwâncahs* and *bardîs* (i.e., cheque farmâns). So it appears that all the officers named above need not sign all the documents.

We will now proceed to examine the position of the seals and the names of the signatories.

At first on the first fold in the middle we find two lines saying that the document has been noted in the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl, who was the officer in charge of those posts.

The following passage in the Âin-i-Akbari (Book II., Âin 19) explains why Abul Fazl had also to take, at times, a note of the grants of *jâgirs*. .

"On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the

¹ نخستین لختی کم پهنا *lakht*, portion, part, bit. The text is

² مشرفی an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.

³ دیوان is the officer who keeps the jagir accounts.

Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for *Sayūrg̃hal*-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with. Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred big'hahs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Çadr Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants "چنان قرار گرفت کہ صدر بصلاح دید را قم شگرف" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 269-70. Text I., p. 199, l. 10.) This passage says that the Çadr had to seek "the concurrence of the writer of this work," i.e. Abul Fazl.

We, see, that, by the side of the seal of the Çadr, of whom we will speak later on, we find the note, that the document has been recorded in the records of Abul Fazl. In the same above-mentioned two lines, it is also noted, that it is recorded in the record of the turn (*naubat*) of the *wāqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. The following passage of the *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Âin* 10) explains, who the officer was, and why he had to take a note of the grant of jâgirs, and why it is put down on the document in question that it has been entered in his record.

"Keeping records is an excellent thing for a Government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (نوبت *naubat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report . . . appointments to mançabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs" (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 258, Text I., p. 192, l. 20).

This passage then says, that one *wāq'ahnawis* was, according to his turn (نوبت *naubat*), always in attendance upon His Majesty and took notes, among other doings of His Majesty, of his grants of jagirs, &c. Hence it is, that we find that in the *farmān* under examination, the name of the *wāq'ahnawis*, during whose turn of office, the grant was made by the king, and in whose records it was entered, is mentioned. This *wāq'ahnawis* is one Muizzuddin Hussain. Now we come to the seals.

Seal No. 1.—On the extreme right of the above two lines, at the edge, first of all, we find a seal, on which we can distinctly read the name مرید اکبر شاه خان Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân.

In the matter of this seal, we must note, what the above passage, of the *Âin-i-Akbari*, says about the first fold. It says نخستین لختی کم پهنا بر کنار پشت پیوست جائی که قطع کنند مهر وکیل شود "on the first-fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal." (Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.)

We see in the case of both the original farmâns that are produced, that a portion of the paper at the right hand corner at the bottom, (which when folded forms the first-fold) is cut off, and it is just at the edge, where the paper is cut off, that the seal of this Khân Khânân, who was the Vakil at this period (1003 Hijri), occurs.

We gather the following particulars about this personage from Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*.

Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khânân Mirzâ Abdurrahim. When his father Bairâm Khân was murdered, he was a small child. Akbar took charge of him. Khân Khânân was the title conferred upon him in 992 Hijri for his victories. (Bada'oni. Lowe's Translation II., p. 346.) In the 25th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed Mir 'Arz and in the 34th year Vakil. He died in 1038 Hijri.

He calls himself in his seal, *murid*, i.e., a disciple or follower of Akbar Shah. He was one of the grandees of Akbar's court named by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbar* (Blochmann I., p. 334-38, No. 29).

Seal No. 2.—The next seal, on the right of the above two lines of Abul Fazl's and Muizzuddin's records, and a little on the left of the above-named seal of Khân Khânân, is that of Mirzâ Kokâh. The name is clearly legible. We gather the following particulars about this personage and of the different offices that he filled in Akbar's court.

His full name is Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokah. He was a great favourite of Akbar. He is one of the grandees (No. 21) mentioned by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari*. In the 34th year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed Governor of Gujrat. In the 39th year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 Hijri. He was made Vakil in 1004. Âzam Khan was

the title latterly bestowed upon him. (Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 325-27.)

Now in what capacity is it, that Mirzâ Kokah signs this document. He was not the Vakil, because the Vakil of the time of this document (the 40th of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1003 Hijri) was, as said above; Khân Khânân, and he himself was appointed Vakil, as said above, in the next year, i.e., 1004 Hijri. So he seems to have signed it as "one who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil." In the above quoted passage about the order of the seals (Book II., *Âin* 12) we read

میان آن شکنج جایی کسی است که رتبهٔ او نزدیک وکالت باشد
چنانچه آنکه خان در زمان منعم خان و آدم خان

(Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 22-23.)

"In the middle of that fold (i.e., the first-fold), is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khan did at the time of Mun'im Khân and Adham Khân. (Translation I., p. 263.)

To understand the above allusion, and to understand how it applies to the case of Mirza Kokah in the document under question, we must look to the list of vakils or prime-ministers given by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Âin* 29. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 232, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 527). Blochmann says (*ibid.*, p. 527, n. 1) that Abul Fazl's list is not complete. But, as it is, it is as follows :—

Bairâm Khân, Mun'im Khân, Atgah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Khwâjah Jahân, Khân Khânân Mirzâ Khân (خان خانان میوزا)
(خان اعظم میرزا کوکه) Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ Kokah

Now in the above passage of the 12th *Âin*, Abul Fazl says, that when Munim Khan and Adham Khân¹ were Vakils in turn, Atkah Khân, who was nearest in rank to each of them, put his seal in the farmâns, &c., on the first-fold. We find from the above list, that this Atkah Khân himself was subsequently appointed a vakil. This shows that the person who is intended to be the next successor to the vakilship, is considered to be the "nearest in rank" or what we,

¹ Abul Fazl does not give Adam Khân's name in the list, in the 30th *ain*. He has evidently forgotten to give it, because he clearly says here that he acted as a Vakil. As Mun'im Khân came to Vakilship after Bairam Khân (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 323), it is clear that Adam Khân succeeded Munim Khân.

in modern parlance, call "assistant." This nearest in rank or assistant generally succeeded to the place at the first vacancy. Now as we find from the above list that Mirzâ Kokah was occupant of the post of Vakilship in Akbar's Court, and as we further see that he was appointed to the post in 1004 Hijri, it is quite clear, that in 1003, *i.e.*, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, when the Farmân in question was granted, he was "the nearest in rank" to the Vakil, Khân Khânân. Hence it is, that next to the seal of Khan Khânân, the Vakil and his immediate superior, we find his seal as that of the nearest in rank or assistant.

The above passage of the Âin allots "the middle" of the first fold to the seal of "the nearest in rank to the Vakil," and we find Mirza Kokah's seal in the middle of the first fold. By the term میان *miân*, *i.e.*, middle, we must not take it to mean the middle of the fold held horizontally, *i.e.*, the middle of the breadth of the paper of the document, but the middle of the breadth of the fold itself.

Seal No. 3.—It is altogether indistinct and illegible.

Seals Nos. 4 and 5.—They are both illegible. They are just near the two lines which mention that the document has been recorded in the *risalah* and *chauki* of Shaik Abul Fazl and the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. So very likely they are the seals of these two officers. On the first (No. 4) of this set of two seals, a word Shaik شيخ, is a little legible. It appears more so with the help of a magnifying glass. So this seems to be the seal of Shaikh Abul Fazl. The second (No. 5) of these two seals may be that of the *Waqiahnawis* Muizzuddin.

Seal No. 6.—On the left of the above-mentioned two lines, and opposite to the seals of Khân Khânân and Mirzâ Kokah, but a little lower, we have a seal, the writing on which is a little clear and legible. It is Al Hussaini Çadr Jahân Kamtarin Bande (الحسيني صدر جهان كمترين بنده) *i.e.*, humblest slave Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini. We read in the above Âin of seals, "Opposite to it (*i.e.*, the Vakil's seal), but a little lower,¹ the Mushrif of the Diwân puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower (پایانتر), comes the seal of the Çadr." This seal then, which bears the name of Çadr Jahân, is the seal of the Çadr, referred to in the Âin-i-Akbari as above. Its position tallies with the situation allotted to it in the above passage of the Âin.

¹ واپستار. Vâpaçtar. Vâpaç means "behind, in the back."

Çadr was an high officer of the State. Abul Fazl says of this officer, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir 'Adl are under his orders." (Book II., Âin 19, Blochmann's translation I., p. 268.) Blochmann says that the Çadr, who was also generally styled Çadr-i-Jahân, ranked during Akbar's time, as the fourth officer¹ of the Empire.

The Çadr or Çadr-i-Jahân, at the time when this *Farmân* was issued (1003 Hijri, 40th year of the reign), was a person whose name coincided with his title. Hence it is that we find in the *Farmân* the seal of the Çadr bearing the name Çadr-i-Jahân. We find his name last in the list of Çadrs given by Abul Fazl in the 30th Âin (Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 15; Translation I., p. 528.) He came to office in 997 Hijri. He continued to serve under Jahangir. (Blochmann I., pp. 272-74.)

Seal No. 7.—This seal is quite illegible. It is perhaps the seal of the Mushrif of the Diwan, to whose seal, the above passage of the Âin allots a place in the first fold in the same line with that of the Çadr. It is on the same line and fold with that of Çadr Jahân and quite close to it. As the position of the seal in the *Farmân* is the same as that allotted, in the Âin-i-Akbari, to the seal of the Mushrif-i-Diwan, it appears very probable that this seal is that of that officer. There is one word that is legible on this seal, and that is جهان Jahân. But that word alone does not help us to determine who this personage was and whose seal it is.

Seal No. 8.—This seal is quite illegible. Not a single word or letter can be deciphered. The date, on which it was affixed, is put down under it thus :

تبت شد فی التاريخ ماه اردیبهشت ۴۱ i.e., entered in the book on the date month Ardibehesht, year 41. At the end of the line there is a word which may be the particular date, but I cannot make it out. The words تبت شد *sabt shūd*, used in connection with

¹ The four chief officers are (1) Vakils or prime ministers, (2) Vazirs or Ministers of Finance, (3) The Bakhshis, and (4) the Çadrs.

this seal, show, that this may be the seal of the Diwân. In the 11th Âin, speaking about the drafts of the *Farmâns*, Abul Fazal says: "The draft is then inspected by the Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numdyand* (ثبت نمایند i.e., ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftar, and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi and the Accountant (of) the Diwân (مشریف دیوان *Mushrif-i-Diwân*) are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature (ثبت *sabt*) to the Diwân."¹ We learn from this passage that *sabt* ثبت seems to be a special technical word for the office of the Diwân. Thus, as the position of the seal in the document is the same as that allotted to the Diwân, and as the phraseology of the date ثبت شد is the same as that attributed to the Diwân in the Âin-i-Akbari, I think it is the seal of the Diwân. From the 12th Âin we learn, that "the seals of the Diwân and the Bakhshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold" (دیوان و بخش از شکنج دوم در نگذرد)²

Seal No. 9.—This seal is distinct and legible. From the *Farmân*, as it is folded now, we cannot exactly determine what the first fold of the document was, and up to what the second, third and fourth folds extended. But from the position of the seals in the first fold, as described by the 12th Âin, this seal appears to be on the third fold. It gives the name Nazar Ali bin Hussain. Under the seal we read مرقوم شد فی التاريخ غرة ماء فروردین سنه ۴۱ i.e., written on the day, the first day³ of the month Farvardin of the 41st year. The same date is thus given a little below on the margin of the document written vertically up from below.

غرة ماء فروردین الہی سنه ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

i.e., copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin, Ilâhi year 41.

Then the question is, who this personage, Nazar Ali or Ali Nazar is? He gives the date on which he put on the seal and entered the document in his books. He seems to be one of the

¹ Blochmann's Translation I, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, ll. 11-13.

² Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, l. 24, Translation I., p. 263.

³ The word may also be read نحره *nahrat*, "the first day of the new moon: also the last day."

⁴ This word can be read *nahrat* also—vide above, n. 3

officers like the above-mentioned *Wāqiahnawis* Muizzuddin, who had to do something with the original *Tāliqah* or its *Yâddâsht*. His name is also mentioned in the body of the *Farmân*, as one who also had made a *sharh* about the *Farmân*.¹

Seal No. 10.—The name on this seal is quite clear and legible. It is *داعی بندہ حسین کمال الدین* *i.e.*, praying slave Hussain Kamâluddîn. Under the seal we read

مطلع شد ۲۹ ماه اسفندارمز الہی ۴۰

i.e., became informed on the date 29 of the month *Asfandârmaz*, *Ilâhi* year 40. The same date is given a little below on the margin of the document in a vertical line. This seal seems to be on the fourth fold which is allotted, in the above-mentioned 12th *Âin*, to the seal of the *Mustaufi* (مستوفی), who is an auditor or a controller of accounts. So perhaps this is the seal of that officer. Now it is not certain who this Kamâluddîn was. We come across three personages of the name of Kamâluddîn in Akbar's time,

1. Mir Kamâluddîn Khwâfi, who is said to have served under Akbar, but it is not said under what capacity.³

2. Kamâluddîn, the father of Abu Turab, who was appointed Mir Hajji by Akbar.⁴

3. Maulana Kamâluddîn Husan, father of Maulana Alaiddîn, who was the teacher of Akbar.⁵ This third personage Kamaluddîn Husan seems to be the signatory of this *farmân*.

Seal No. 11.—This seal also is quite clear and legible. It is that of Al-Abd⁶ Hussain Kamaluddîn *العبد حسین کمال الدین* *i.e.*, servant Hussain Kamaluddîn. Under the seal we read *قلمی شد ۲۹ اسفندارمز* *i.e.*, written on the 29th of *Asfandârmaz* of the *Ilâhi* year 40. So we find that both the names and the dates of the

¹ *Vide* p. 105.

* *U* is the contraction of تاریخ

* Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* Translation I., p. 445, n. 1.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

* *Ibid.*, p. 540.

* *عبد* servant, slave. In many of the seals we find the signatories attaching some words of humility to their names, such as *کمترین بندہ*, *داعی بندہ*.

two seals No. 10 and No. 11 are the same. This may be the case perhaps because the same person may have held two offices. This seal is the last and the lowest; and the last officer, to whom the lowest part of the *farmân*, the fifth fold, is allotted in the above-quoted passage of the 12th *Âin*, is *Çahib-Taujîh* صاحب نوجیه who is the adjuster of accounts. Just as in the case of the *Diwân*, the words *sabt-shûd* سبت شد, used in our *Farmân*, helped us to think that the seal may have belonged to an officer of the *Diwân*, in whose connection the same words were used in the *Âin-i-Akbari*, so the words *qalami shûd* قلمی شد used in the *Farmân* under this 11th and last seal of *Kamâluddîn*, help us to think that this seal may be that of the *Çahib-i-Taujîh*. In the 11th *Âin* we read that "the *Çahib-i-Taujîh* keeps the former *Taliqah*¹ with himself." (صاحب نوجیه آخرین تعلیقہ را پیش خود نگاہ دارد)

Now in the case when the *Taliqah* was confirmed by the king, and the *Jagir* conferred, the words written in the report were, according to the above *Âin*, "*Taliqah-i-tan qalami numayand* تعلیقہ تن قلمی نمایند i.e., they are to write out a *taliqah*."² So the words *qalami shûd* written under the 11th seal show that as alluded to in the *Âin-i-Akbari*, this seal may be that, of the *Çahib-i-Taujîh*.

Let us now examine the different dates as given in the *Farmân*. From the *Sharh-i-taliqah*, i.e., the details of the abridgment, we learn that His Majesty king Akbar first issued the order of the *Farmân* on the 15th of the 7th month *Meher* in the 40th year of his reign (1003 Hijri). The order was recorded on the 13th day *Tir* of the 8th month *Âban* of the same year. In accordance with that order, the *Farmân* was prepared on the 10th day of the 12th month *Asfandârmaz* of the same year.

Then there are three statements of dates in which we read the month *Asfandârmaz* of the 40th year. One is under seal No. 7, which is illegible, and in which, the only word that we can read with

¹ i.e., the abridgment of the *Yaddâsht* or memorandum of the affairs of the king. Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text L, p. 194, l. 13.

² *Ibid.*, Translation, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 11.

accuracy is **جہان** Jahan. It is the date when the Mushrif or some officer attached to the Diwan put the seal. The particular day is not clear. It looks like 7, but that cannot be the date, as it must be one after the 10th. It may be the 17th, or it may be some date in connection with the first *sharh*. Then*the seals Nos. 10 and 11, those of Kamaluddin, have the dates put under them. These dates are clear. They are the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. The same date, we read in one of the two marginal statements. Then we find*that one seal (No. 9) of Nazar Ali has the date of the succeeding month, *i.e.*, Farvardin of the 41st year of the reign. This date is also given in the second of the two marginal statements. Then there is one seal (No. 8) which bears the date of the next month Ardibehesht of the 41st year. We notice one thing, and it is this, that all officers did not put down the dates when they attached their seals. Perhaps it was only those, in whose books the Farmâns were regularly recorded or taken note of, who put down the dates of their seals, to facilitate reference to their books in case of necessity. I think Abul Fazl seems to make a distinction, when he uses, in the case of some officers, the words *nishân va môhr* نشان و مهر *i.e.*, sign and seal, and in the case of others simply the word *môhr* مهر *i.e.*, the seal. When they put down the dates with their own hands, under their seals, that was meant to be putting their *nishân* or sign. For example, he says that the Çahib-i-Taujîh, the Mustaufi, the Nazir and the Bakhshîs put on their signs and seals. In the case of the Diwân, his accountant and the Vakil, he uses simply the word seal.¹

¹ Blochmann's Text I., p. 194, ll. 13-15, Translation I., pp. 261-62.

(Translation of the second *Farman*.)

God is Great.

The *Farman* of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdashâh Gâzi.

At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the honour of being issued, and the dignity of being published, that, **Whereas** about 300 *bigdhs* of land (measured) by the *ildhi* gaz, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, in the environs of the town of Naosâri, &c., according to the particulars of the contents (of this *Farman*), had been formerly assigned from the *Sarkâr* of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikobâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the *jâgirdâr*, according to an order which has issued¹ forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif*² *ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty) **It is incumbent** upon all present and future governors, and tax-gatherers and *jagirdars* and *korjâns* of that district, that they should, according to what is written, give back in his possession, totally and entirely, the allotted part of 300 *bigdhs* in the same way as ordered above,³ and should not diminish or refuse anything; and whatever may have been received during the past and current years from the income of 300 *bigdhs*, should be returned; and no burdens should be imposed in that matter; and trying to bestow care in the confirmation and perpetuity of that

¹ قضا decrec, order; جریان jaryân "which issues forth (as an order)." (Steingass.)

² خریف autumn, autumn harve-t, harvest.

³ Lit. in the beginning, front, chief. The word *Çadr* used in the seals in the sense of minister is derived from this meaning. Abul Fazl in his "*Âin-i-Akbari*" (Bk. II., *Âin* 19) says of this officer: "As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office . . . Such an officer is called *Çadr*. The *Qâri* and the *Mir'Asi* are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled *Diwan-i-Saâdat* . . . and afterwards it was determined that the *Çadr*, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, (*i.e.*, Abul Fazal,) should either increase or decrease the grants. (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.)

should make no change or alteration ; and make no deduction¹ from those lands ;² and on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and capitation taxes, the rest of the taxes, such as imposts and presents and fines and village assessments and marriage fees and Darogha's fees and tax-gatherer's fees, and five per cent. tax and two³ per cent. tax and *kánungûi* (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens (i.e., taxes) for cultivation and gardening and *zakât* of duties on manufactures and assessments, no molestation should be given him every year, after (i.e., beyond) the ascertainment of the grant and all civil taxes and all royal revenues ; and excusing, freeing⁴ and absolving him in every way⁵ and of all charges, they should not go round him and should not ask every year for renewed *farmâns* and *parvānchahs* in this matter ; and when (it, i.e., the *farmân*, is once) adorned⁶ and illustrated⁷ with the royal signet of the respect⁸ of His Most Glorious⁹ Majesty, they must show their confidence in it.

Written on the date¹⁰ second (day) of mâh Mêhêr *ildâhi* year 48.

Postscript¹¹ explanation (or details) of the *waqiah* (i.e. record). On the second day Bahman of the month Meher *ilâhî* year 48, corresponding to Thursday, according to the writing of *Jumlatul-*

¹ وضع subtraction, deduction, abatement.

² اراضى (pl. of رضى) lands, estates.

³ Sad-dui. Vide above, p. 101, n. 1.

⁴ مسلم musallam "free, dispensed, exempted from all public burdens."

⁵ من كل الوجوه or كلى وجوه *min kullî wajuh* "in every shape, entirely, every way."

⁶ مزين muzaiyan, "adorned ; signed and sealed by the Shâh."

⁷ مجلى *mujallâ*, illustrated, manifested. This sentence may also refer to the person. ⁸ وقع respect, regard. This word is not found in the first *farmân*. If read وقع sharpened.

⁹ اجل "more excellent, more or most glorious."

¹⁰ التاريخ or if you read it as لاني *alâni*, "belonging to the present time," i.e., row. The figure after this word is ٢ two. But as there is a slight faint ink blot near it, the man cleaning the photo-litho stone took it to be a nought, and having inked it has made it look like ٢٠ twenty. That the date is second appears from the next but one line and other subsequent dates. This date corresponds to row 2 mah 7 year 972 Yazdazardi A.D. 1603.

¹¹ حاشيم a marginal note, postscript.

mülki ¹ *madarut-mahammi* ² *nizamulrasâ* ³ Âsafkhan⁴, and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*, the favoured of His Majesty Khwājagi Fathullah⁵ (and during) the turn⁶ of the *wāqiah-nawis*, the humblest of slaves, Muhammad Shafia.

The order of the universally-obeyed,⁷ lustre⁸ of the sun (i. e., the king) has been issued that, Whereas about 300 *bigahs* of land (measured) by the *ilâhi gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land in the town of Naôsâri, &c., had been formerly assigned, from the Sarkâr of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the Jagirdâr, according to an order which has issued forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in pray-

¹ جملة الملك *Jumlat-ul-mulk* was a title. It was bestowed upon the *Vakil* of the Empire. It was bestowed by Akbar upon Muzaffar Khân-i-Turbati (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 349.) Badâ'uni says:—

"In this year (the 17th of his reign) the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sârangpûr, and appointed him prime minister and gave him in addition to his other titles that of *Jumlat-ul-mulk*. (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 174.)

² مدارال مهمام *lit.* the centre of important affairs, i. e., a minister.

³ نظام الرما *clever administrator.* رما *skilful, quick of apprehension (?)*. Perhaps for *nizâm al rayâsat*.

⁴ *Vide* below, p. 128, for this personage.

⁵ خواجگي فتح الله *Khwājagi Fathullah* was one of the grandees (بزرگان جاوید دولت) enumerated by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., Âin 30.). He was one of the سيصد و پنجاہي *i. e.*, the commanders of Three hundred and fifty (Blochmann's text I, p. 229, column 1, l. 11, grandee No. 285, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 499). He is there described as the son of Haji Habibullah Kâshi (of Kâshân). He once served under Mirza Aziz Kokah.

⁶ *Vide* above, p. 102, n. 11, for the *waqiahnawis*. They were fourteen in number and worked in turns. Abul Fazl says روزی دو کس قرار یافت و پس از چهارده روز نوبت بیکي رسید

"Two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight." (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 22. Translation Vol. I., p. 258). So here the particular writer, who had his turn to record the document, gives his own name.

⁷ جهان مطاع *Jahân mutâ, obeyed by the world.*

⁸ شعاع *a shu'â, light, splendour.*

ing for (His Majesty's) daily-increasing¹ fortune, (It is enjoined) to all present and future governors and tax-gatherers and *Jagirdárs* and *kroris* of that district that ascertaining (the fact) according to what is written, they should, give back in his possession, 300 *bighás*, in the same way as declared in the most noble order, and whatever may have been received during the past year and during the current year should be returned. The writing of the postscript is in the hand of the *waqidh-nawis* according to the record.

The 300 *bighás* are fixed according to the former royal *Farmân* in this way :—

Village Tavri in the *paragnah*
of Talârt.

In the environs of the town of
Naôsâri, where the abovemention-
ed land was (allotted) ere this for
the purpose of the assistance of
livelihood of Mâhyâr.

100 *bighás*.

200 *bighás*.

With *sah*.

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, and of the marginal lines, and of other lines under the seals which give dates.

(The three lines in the first fold on the side containing the seals.)

In the record of *umdatu'l-mulki*,² *rukn i saltanat*³ *a'la*,⁴ *itimâd-ul-daolat*⁵ *alkhâkhânieh*,⁶ *layak-u'l-inâm*⁷ *wa al-ahsân*,⁸ *jumlat-ul-mulki*,⁹ *madaru'l-mahammi*,¹⁰ *nizamu'l-raça*,¹¹ Açaḡkhân,

¹ روز افزون increasing daily (in glory); a royal title implying august, fortunate.

² عمدة الملك "pillar of the state" (a title conferred on high officials).

³ ركن سلطنة pillar of the dominion, a nobleman.

⁴ اعلى most exalted.

⁵ اعتماد الدولة reliance of the state.

⁶ خاقانى imperial.

⁷ لایق العنایم worthy of prize.

⁸ وال احسان and (worthy) of beneficence.

⁹ جبلت الملك the sum total of the country, vide above, p. 123, n. 1.

¹⁰ Vide p. 123, n. 2.

¹¹ Ibid. n. 3.

and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-almulki*,¹ *muqarrabu'l-hazrat-ul Sultāni*,² Khwājagi Fathullah³ and (during) the turn of the *waqiah-nawis* Muhammad Shafia. On the day 2nd, month Meher ilāhi year 48 corresponding to Thursday.

(Seals Nos. 1 and 2 not legible.)

(Seal No. 3) Fathullah, (other words are not clearly legible).

(Seal No. 4) Āṣaf Khān.

(Seal No. 5) humblest slave Qadr-i-Jahān al Hussaini.

(Seal No. 6 not legible.)

(Date under the two seals Nos. 6 and 4 which are mixed together.) Entered on the date 14th month Meher ilāhi year 48.

(Date just below the above date written vertically.) Fixed and Sealed and signed on the date 14th month Meher ilāhi year 48. With *sah*.

(Seal No. 7). Abdul Karim, yezdāni slave (i. e., slave of God).

(The date under Seal No. 7). Became informed on the 9th of month Meher ilāhi year 48.

(Seal No. 8. The whole of it is not legible. The only word which is clear is) Ali Murtaza *على مرتضى*

(The date under Seal No. 8). Written on 7th of month Meher ilāhi year 48.

(Seal No. 9) slave Kamāluddin Hussain.

(The date under Seal No. 9). Written on 7th day of month Meher ilāhi year 48.

(The marginal line under Seal No. 8 written vertically). Written in the book on the date 7th month Meher ilāhi year 48.

We will now examine the seals on the Farmān.

¹ Bakhshi of the State *بخشي الملکي* Fathullah was at one time appointed Bakhshi—*vide* below, p. 128, n. 2.

² *مقرب الحضر* السلطاني the favourite of His Majesty the king.

³ *Vide* above, p. 123, n. 5. This commander seems to be in charge of the *chauki* at the time when the order in connection with the farmān was given.

The king's seal is at the top of the Farmân, as in the case of the first Farmân, and as referred to by the Âin-i-Akbari. It is made up of eight circles, containing the names of Akbar and his seven ancestors. The names in these circles are not as distinct and clear as in the case of the first farmân, and unfortunately the photo-litho has not come out so well. However, placing these two farmâns side by side, one can determine the names with the help of a magnifying glass.

We will now come to the seals at the end of the Farmân. As in the case of the first Farmân, we have to turn the Farmân upside down to read the seals and the note of the *wuqiah-na'is*, beginning from the first fold.

Seal No. 1. The name on it is not at all legible. But from what is said in the Âin-i-Akbari,¹ and from the fact that that statement of the Âin-i-Akbari is confirmed by the seal No. 1 of the first Farmân,² we can safely say, that this is the seal of Khan-i-Âzam Mirzâ Aziz Kokah, the then Vakil of king Akbar's time. We saw in the case of the first Farmân,³ that at that time (1003 Hijri, the 40th year of Akbar's reign), he was the person "nearest in rank to the Vakil," and as such we saw his seal on the first fold on the left of that of the then Vakil, Khân Khâûân. But Mirza Kokah was promoted to the Vakilship in 1004 H. He continued in that post up to the time of the death of Akbar.⁴ So at the time of the second Farmân (the 48th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1011-12 Hijri) he was Vakil of the state and so the seal No. 1 seems to be his. It is just at the place pointed out by the Âin i-Akbari, as the place of the Vakil's seal. It says, "On the first fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal."⁵

Seal No. 2. The writing on it is not legible. Only a letter here and there can be deciphered. I think that from a comparison with the order, observed in the first Farmân, we can infer that it may be the

¹ Vide p. 111.

² Vide p. 111.

³ Vide pp. 111-112.

⁴ Vide Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's Vakils.—Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 8. Translation I., p. 527. About Mirza Kokah's career, vide *ibid* pp. 325-28.

⁵ *Ibid* Text, p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.

seal of the *Waqiah-nawis* who must be in attendance on the king, when the order of the *Farmân* was issued. In the case of the first *Farmân*, we saw,¹ that at the end of the text of the *Farmân*, on the very first fold, a note was put down to say, that the document was noted in the *resûlah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl and in the record of the turn (*naôbat*) of *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. We also saw that the two seals on the left of the above two lines of the first fold, seemed to be those of Abul Fazl and the *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin.

Now in this second *Farmân*, we find a similar statement about the documents being recorded in (a) the *resûlah*, (b) *chauki*, and (c) *naôbat*. But there is this difference that, while in the case of the first *Farmân*, both the *resûlah* and the *chauki* were in the charge of Abul Fazl, in the case of the second *Farmân* they seem to be in the charge of two separate officers, the *resûlah* in that of Âçaf Khân, and the *chauki* in that of Khwâjagi Fathullah. The *naôbat* (i.e. the record of the turn) was that of Mahomed Shafia. So in the case of the second *Farmân*, we must expect three seals of three different officers on the left of the above-mentioned lines, in which these officers, make a note that the *Farmân* had been issued according to the records of their *resûlah*, *chauki* and *naôbat* respectively. Now on seals Nos. 3 and 5 we read the names of the above two officers, Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Alla (or Fathullah). So I think, that this illegible seal may be that of the third officer, the *Waqiah-nawis* Mahomed Shafia.

Seal No. 3. We read in it at the top the words فطح الله Fattah Allah. The words below these are not legible. This name then shows, that it is the seal of Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, who, as said in the three lines on the first fold, was in charge of the *chauki*. As referred to above,² and as pointed out by the 9th Âin, there are two trustworthy officers always in attendance upon the king and in charge of the royal guard at the palace. One was a Mançabdâr and another the Mir 'Arz. As Abul Fazl says, "All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue."³ Thus it

¹ p. 105.

² p. 101, n. 2.

³ Blochmann's Translation, I., p. 257.

is, that we see, that these two officers Âṣaf Khân and Khwājagi Fattah Allah, together with the *Wāqiah-nawis*, make a note upon the *Farmân* to say that the *Farmân* was issued during their time of office, and they put their seals to verify that statement.

We find the following particulars about this Khwājagi, given ● by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari*, (خواجگی فتح الله No. 285).¹ He was one of the *si-sad va panjahi*, i.e., officers in charge of 350 men (سیصد و پنجاهی). At one time he was a *Bakhshi* of the State.* In the 45th year of the reign (1008 Hijri), when Akbar besieged Âsir, he was associated with Muzaffar in besieging Fort Lalang.

Seal No. 4. We read over this seal very clearly the words Aṣaf Khân. As said above, he is the officer who, together with the above Khwājagi Fattah Allah, the officer in charge of the *chauki*, and Mahomed Shafia, the *waqiah-nawis*, makes a note on the *Farmân* that the order was entered in his *resûlah*. He is the *resûlahdâr* in whose term of office, the original orders for the *Farmân* were issued. We said above that according to the *Âin-i-Akbari*, an *yâddûsht* or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the king. A *Taliqah* or abridgment is then prepared from the *yâddûsht*. From that *Taliqah* the *Farmâns* are prepared. "The abridgment is," says the *Âin-i-Akbari*, "signed and sealed by the *Waqiah-nawis* and the *Resûlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Darogah*."² Of the first three officers, we saw that Mahomed Shafiha was the *Wāqiah-nawis* in charge of the *waqiah*, Khwājagi Fattah Alla, the *Mir' Arz* in charge of the *chauki*, and Âṣaf Khân the *Resûlahdâr* in charge of the *resûlah*. Having made a note on the *Farmân* of the issue of the orders for the grant of land during their terms of office, they put their seals on the *Farmân* near the note.

We find the following particulars about this officer Âṣaf Khân. Âṣaf is a title. Akbar had bestowed this title upon three of his grantees. So, Badaoni, to avoid confusion, distinguishes the second and the third Âṣaf Khân as آصف خان ثانی i.e., Âṣaf Khân II. and آصف خان ثالث i.e., Âṣaf Khân III. Abdul Majid, Âṣaf Khân I., died

¹ Blochmann's text I., p. 229.

² Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., pp. 323, 372. So he is called *Bakhshi-al-mulki* in our document.

³ Blochmann's Translation I., p. 259.

before 981 Hijri. Khwajah Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali, Aḥaf Khān II., died in 989 H. So the Aḥaf Khān referred to in this Farmān of 1011-12 H. was Mirza Jāfar Beg, Aḥaf Khān III., who lived at the time of the Farmān. (*Vide* Badāʾonī Lowe II., p. 322.)

He was one of the grandees enumerated by Abul Fazl in his *Āin-i-Akbari* (No. 98). His name was Jafar Beg جعفر بيگ. He came from Qazwin in the 22nd year of the reign. He was first appointed a commander of Twenty (بیستی). After a short time he was made a commander of Two Thousand (دو هزارى) and was then given the title of Aḥaf Khān. In the 44th year (1008) he was appointed *Diwan-i-Kul*.

According to Badāʾonī he was a known writer of Akbar's time. He also fought several battles for Akbar. He was the collaborator with Maulānā Ahmad in his *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* (i.e. the history of 1,000 years), which Akbar, in about 990 Hijri, asked to be written for all Mahomedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era. (Elliot, Vol. V., pp. 150-53). Maulānā Ahmad was killed by one of his personal enemies after having finished two volumes. "The remainder of the work was written by Aḥaf Khān up to the year 997 H" (*Ibid* p. 153). Badāʾonī also had a hand in the writing of this history.

In the 38th year of the reign (1001 H.) this Aḥaf Khān took part with Zain Khān Koka in a fight with the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. (Elliot V., p. 467.) According to the *Akbar-nāmah*, in the 45th year of the reign, he, in company with Abul Fazl, took part in investing the fortress of Āsīr. (Elliot VI., p. 971.)

Seal No. 5. We read on this "Al Hussaini Ḥadr-i-Jahān *kamterin-bandeh*," i.e. humblest slave Ḥadr-i-Jahān-al Hussaini. We saw his seal on the first farmān also. As we said above, he was the last Ḥadr of Akbar's court. He came to office in 997 Hijri and continued in office till the end of Akbar's reign, and even for some time in Jehangir's reign. So we find his seal in both the farmāns. In this second farmān also we find his seal in the same place as that allotted to him in the *Āin-i-Akbari*.¹ A little below this seal and on the left we find a date. It says: "Entered on the 14th of the month Meher ilahi year 48." On the first sight, it does not appear certain, whether the date belongs to this seal of Ḥadr-i-Jahān, or it belongs

¹ *Vide* above, p. 113.

to the above seal (No. 4) of Âḡaf Khân, or to seal No. 6, which is illegible and which is mixed up with No. 4. But a comparison of the way, in which the date is put in here, with the way in which we find the date under Çadr-i-Jahân's seal in the first farmân, leads us to say, that this date is that of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal. There also we find it a little below Çadr-i-Jahân's seal and a little on the left. What is more striking is that in both cases there is a peculiar stroke over the dates. As Çadr-i-Jahân is the only person whose seal is common to both the farmâns, and as we find this peculiarity near his seals, we are led to believe that the date in question is the date of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal.

Seal No. 6. It is quite illegible, and it is mixed up with seal No. 4.

Between the seals No. 6 and No. 7, it is possible, there may be one or more seals of some officials, but as the portion between these two is patched up in the original old document with a piece of paper, to support the tattered condition of the old paper, we are not certain if there was or not any seal there.

Seal No. 7. We read on it the name Abdul Karim Bandah-i-Yazdâni and under it, the date 9th of the month Meher of the *ilâhi* year 48. The words are مطلع شد تاريخ ۹ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸. They are written in a very mixed fashionable way. It seems that the different officers had different styles of recording the document: one said ثبت شد *subt shûd*, another said قلمی شد *qualami shûd*, a third said مرقوم شد *marqum shûd*, and a fourth said مطلع شد *muttali shud*. All these seem to be the technical wording, special to different departments, for signifying, that the farmân had been entered into the records of their departments, or seen and passed by their departments. Now the technical wording of this seal is the same as that on seal No. 10 in the first farmân (pp. 106, 116). We saw in the case of the first farmân that the seal with that wording under it, was possibly the seal of the Mustaufi. So perhaps this person Abdul Karim (or perhaps Abdul Rahim) was a Mustaufi. We cannot positively say who this person was.

Seal No. 8. The words on this seal are not clear, but we can distinctly read the words Ali Murtaza. علی مرتضی Under the seal we read مرقوم شد ۷ ماه مهر الهی سنه ۴۸ i.e., written (or dated) on 7th of month Meher *ilâhi*, year 48. The same date is written vertically on the margin a little below the seal. The seal in the first Farmân with a similar wording

is seal No. 9 (pp. 106, 115). The word علي in both the seals is common. Again in both cases their dates are repeated on the margin. So at first sight, one would be tempted to say, that it is the same person who has put down both the seals on the two Farmâns. But that is not the case. We saw in the case of the first Farmân that the seal seemed to be that of some officer connected with the preparation of the *Taliqah*. This seal therefore seems to be that of a similar officer. It may be that of the Darôgah داروغه (superintendent of the office). We saw above, on the authority of the Âin-i-Akbari that the original *Taliqah* from which the Fârman is made is prepared, "signed and sealed by the Wâqiahnawis, and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Darôgah*." Of these four officers, we saw that the names of the first three, who are the principal officers, are mentioned in the three lines of the first fold, and that they have also put down their seals. So perhaps this is the seal of the fourth officer, the Darôgah.

Seal No. 9. This seal is quite legible. The words on it are عبده حسين كمال الدين i.e., servant Hussain Kamâlluddin. Under the seal we read ٧ ماه مهر الهی سنه ٤٨ i.e., written the 7th of the month Meher ilâhi, year 48. This seal occupies the same place in the second Farmân as seal No. 11 in the first Farmân. Again it is the same person who has put on the seal, though his seal is not the same. In the first Farmân, the seal reads العبد حسين كمال الدين but in the second Farmân it reads عبده حسين كمال الدين. The name is exactly the same, but the word expressive of humility, though the same, is a little different in its formation. It is *al abd* in the first Farmân, but *abdech* in the second. Again the style of the date under both is exactly the same. From the technical phraseology "*qalami shûd*," found both in the Farmân and in the Âin-i-Akbari, and from its position in the Farmân, we determined, that the seal No. 11 in the first *farmân* seemed to be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. On the same grounds, and because the name on both the seals is the same, we can safely say that this seal also is that the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the order of the dates in the second Farmân. It appears from the contents of the second Farmân that Kaikobad was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful possession of the 300 *bigahs* of land—of which 200 were those of his father and 100 of his own—given to him according to the first Farmân in 1003 Hijri. H

seems to have been molested. So the second Farmân, issued eight years later, mentions the fact of the previous Farmân, and enjoins that the land may be given back in his possession, and that whatever of his income from the land, in the then current year (*i.e.* the 48th year of the reign 1011-12 Hijri) and of the preceding year, he may have been consequently deprived of, should be made good to him. It further enjoins that no fresh Farmâns should be asked from him from year to year, but that the Farmân in question with the royal seal should suffice. This Farmân was dated 2nd of the 7th month Meher, in the 48th year of the reign.¹

In the case of the first Farmân we saw, that His Majesty had issued orders for the grant on the 15th of the 7th month Meher (1003 H.). On the 13th of the next month Abân, *i.e.*, 28 days after the first issue of the order, the order was properly recorded and the *talîqah* made, and on the 10th day of the 12th month Aspadârmad, *i.e.*, about four months after the first issue of the order, a regular and *pucca* Farmân was granted to Kaikobâd. The other officers took about two months to record it in their respective departments and to put on their seals. The whole thing was complete in the second month Ardibehesht of the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. In the case of the second Farmân, we see, that on account of the hardship caused to him by not being allowed to continue to remain in the peaceful possession of the land given by the first Farmân, there has been very little delay. The second day Bahman of the 7th month Meher is the day on which the Farmân is sealed with His Majesty's seal. On the same day, the officers who had to do with the *talîqah*, or the abridgment of the memorandum of His Majesty's orders, sign it. The Çadr-i-Jahân signs it, and within 12 days all the other officers sign and seal it.

¹ Kaikobad is said to have got subsequently from king Jehangir another *farmân* for these 300 *bigâhs* of land, all in his own name.

اللد اکبر

حکم خان خانان مرزا نخان نهادر سپهر سالار

مقتضیان صہبات و معاملات سرکار سورت و قصبہ لوساری و برگند تلاری بدانند کہ چون حکم جهان مطاع عالم مطیع درباب وظیفہ داران صوبہ کجرات صادر شدہ بود کہ از انصہر مدد معاش داشتہ باشند نصفی بدینہ صوازی سہ صد بیگمہ زمین کہ موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجہ مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبہ مذکور و موضع توری من اعمال برگند تلاری مقدر بود یکصد و پنچہ بیگمہ زمین بشارالبد دادہ شدہ بود درین ولاکہ موسی الہر فرمان عالیشان مسجد آورد کہ اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد کہ سہ صد بیگمہ است تمام و کمال مع اشتجار خرما از محل قدیم بدینہ امر عالی شد کہ صوازی سہ صد بیگمہ زمین از منقبوضہ قدیم مع اشتجار بموجب تفصیل ضمن در وجہ مدد معاش او مقدر باشد باز کہ اراضی مذکور را بموسی الہر وا گذارند کہ حاصلات آن را منصرف میشدہ باشد و بدعای دولت ابد بدوئند بندگان حضرت مشغول باشد و بعزت مال و جہات و سایر جہات و کل تکالیف دیرانی چہیزی از و مطالبہ نمایند و بہتوجہ من الوجوہ مزاحم و معارۃ حوالۃ او نشوند و حسب الامر العالی عمل نمودہ از فرمودہ در نگارند

تقریراً اول اسفندارمہ ماہ الہی سنہ ۴۸ مطابق ۲۱ شہر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲

مقررین تعلیق از قرار بتاریخ روز باد ۲۲ بہمن ماہ الہی سنہ ۴۸ مطابق ۱۰ شہر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲ بمہر و کالت بذای شجاعت شعاری میرزا حسن علی بیگ

و مدارت دستگاہی میرزا عبدالملک دیوان و عمدہ دولت خواہان خواجہ محمد معصوم میرنغشی آنکہ نواب کامکاری صلاکت مدارای امر فرمودند کہ چون بموجب حکم جهان مطاع کہ

ارباب و وظایف صوبہ کجرات در وجہ مدد معاش داشتہ نصفی بدینہ صوازی سہ صد بیگمہ زمین کہ موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجہ مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبہ لوساری و موضع آن توری

مقرر بود یکصد و پنچہ بیگمہ زمین بمشار الہر عنایت شدہ بود درین ولاکہ موسی الہر فرمان عالیشان مسجد آورد کہ اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد کہ سہ صد بیگمہ زمین است

بنام و کمال مع اشتجار خرما از محل قدیم باو وا گذارند حکم عالی شد کہ صوازی سہ صد بیگمہ از منقبوضہ قدیم سہر اشتجار خرما در وجہ مدد معاش

او مقدر باشد باید کہ دیوانیان سرکار خاصہ سنہی در زمان بموسی الہر بدینہ پرازدگی فضایل ماب مدارت دستگاہی مولانا عبدالعزیز و شرح حاشیہ بخط محضرت پدای

میرزا عبدالملک دیوان آنکہ حسب الامر العالی موافق فرمان عالیشان از منقبوضہ قدیم پورا انصہر قسبی تمام بنمایند

تصہب نووساری کہ زمین مذکور قبل از این در وجہ مدد معاش مایار بود

توری از برگند تلاری

بیگمہ

لا بیگمہ

(Translation of the *parwānchah*, the third document relating to the grant of land in virtue of the two *Farmāns*.)

God is Great !

The order of Khān Khānān¹ Mirza Khān, Bāhādur,² the Sapāh-sālār (i.e., the Commander-in-Chief).

Let the Government officers³ of the affairs and business of the *sarkār* of Surat and *kasbeh* of Naosari and *paraganah*⁴ of Talāri know, that Whereas an order (of His Majesty), obeyed by the world and submitted to by all people, in the matter of the *wazifah-dārāns* (i.e., the holders of *wazifahs*) of the Subah of Guzrat, had been issued, to the effect, that of whatever may have been possessed as *madad-i-ma'āsh*, half may be given; (and Whereas) out of about 300 *bigāhs* of land, which, according to the previous *Farmān* of His Majesty, have been assigned from the abovesaid *kasbeh* and from the village⁵ of Tavri from the tract⁶ of the *paraganah* of Talāri for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Parsee Kaikobād, 150 *bigāhs* of land have been given to the above-mentioned person;⁷ (and Whereas) at this time, when the above-named person⁷ brings a fresh *Farmān* from His Majesty, that the lands for

¹ Vide above, p. 111 We find him placing his seal on the first *Farmān* with the name Khān Khānān. His full name was Khān Khānān Mirza Abdurrahim, and as Blochmann says, "Historians generally call him Mirza Khān Khānān." (*Āin-i-Akbari* Translation I., p. 335.) Badaoni called him Mirza Khan before he was given the title of Khan Khanan. He says :

میرزا خانرا خطاب خان خانانی..... و منصب پنجزاری..... بخشید

"To Mirza Khān was given the title of Khān Khānān and the rank of a commander of 5,000." (Badaoni. Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 336, ll. 10-12. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 346.) He is called Sapah-Salār because he was the commander of the army. According to Blochmann he was called *Khān Khānān* or *Khān Khānān o Sipah-Sālār*. (*Āin-i-Akbari*, I., p. 240.)

² So called on account of his victories. With an army of 10,000 troopers he had defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Gujrat at the head of 40,000 troopers (Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbari*. Translation I., p. 334.) This bravery gained him the title of Khān Khānān. Again he showed great bravery in the fight with Subail Khan (*ibid* p. 335).

³ منصفی *muttasaddi*, any inferior officer of Government, clerk, accountant.

⁴ For the terms *sarkār*, *kasbeh* and *paraganah*, vide above, p. 105 n. 4.

⁵ موضع a village, hamlet, place. ° اعمال pl. of عمل rule, a tract, country.

⁷ *mushār ilāhi* and مومي اليم *māmi ilāhi* the above named (person).

the *madad-i-maḍsh* of Kaikobād, which are 300 *bigāhs*, should be given him, whole and complete, together with date trees, from his old place The exalted order is issued that about 300 *bigāhs* of land of his old possession,¹ together with trees according to the particulars of the contents, should be assigned for his *madad-i-maḍsh* And also that the above-named lands should be given over to the above-named person, so that he may be possessed² of its income, and joined with the servants of His Majesty, may be engaged in praying for his perpetual good fortune And on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and the rest of the taxes and all civil taxes, nothing should be demanded of him And in no way³ whatsoever should there be any obstacles⁴ and delay⁵ in his assignment⁶ And acting according to the order of His Majesty, they should not turn back from orders.⁷ Written on the 1st of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 21st of the month Ramzân al mubarak, 1012.

The contents of the *Taliqah* (are) fixed⁸ from the *qarâr*,⁹ on the date of the 22nd day Bâd (*i.e.*, Guâd) of the month Bahman ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 10th of the month Ramzân-al-mubâarak, 1012, with the seal of Mirza Hasan Alibeg,¹⁰ who is the protector of administration,¹¹ and who is intrepid,¹² and Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân

¹ مقبوض *maqḥūz*, seized, possessed, held. ² متصرف *mutasarrif* possessed.

³ Wajh min wajah. Lit. in any way out of the ways. Or it may mean 'no tax out of the other taxes (*wujuh*) should cause delay in the assignment. Vide p. 98, n. 2, for *vajuhat*.

⁴ مزاہم *muzâhim*, obstacle, impediment.

⁵ معاراة *mu'ârat* 'delaying.' If we read the word معاراة *mu'ârat* the meaning would be "contention, opposition."

⁶ حوالاة *hawâlat*, *hawala*, transfer, assignment.

⁷ Farmudâh, ordered.

⁸ Muqarar fixed, settled.

⁹ *qarâr-nâmahs* are, according to Blochmann, papers, that "specify the revenue collections."

¹⁰ This officer seems to be Mirzâ Ali Beg Akbarshâhi referred to by Blochmann (*Ain-i-Akbari* translation I. p. 482).

¹¹ The word is not clear. It seems to be *vakulat*.

¹² شجاعت شعار *shajā'at shā'ar* intrepid.

who is the helper of premiership¹ and Khwajah Mahmud Maqum Mir Bakhshi, the pillar² of the well-wishers. The powerful Nawab, who is the centre of sovereignty, has ordered that (Whereas) according to the world obeyed order (of His Majesty) that of whatsoever the owners of the Wazifahs of the Subah of Gujrat may have possessed as madad-i-maâsh, half may be given (And Whereas) of about 300 bigâhs of land, which according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, has been assigned from the *kasbah* of Naosari and its village Tavri, for the *madad-i-maâsh* of Parsi Kaikâbâd, 150 bighâs of land, had been given to the abovesaid person (And Whereas) at this time, the abovesaid person brings a fresh Farmân, that the lands of the *madad-i-maâsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 bigâhs of land, should be given him entirely and completely, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order has been (issued) that about 300 bigâhs of his old possession, together with date trees, should be assigned for his madad-i-maâsh. It is necessary that the officers of the *Sarkâr* should instantly give to the abovenamed person a special grant.

Parvângi (i.e., permission) of Maulana Abdul Aziz, who is the receptacle³ of excellences, the strength of premiership⁴ and the marginal *sharh* in the hand of Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân, the protection of the royal court⁵. According to the exalted order, and in conformity with the Farmân of His Majesty, the *parwanchah* of the old possession may be put into writing completely.

Village Tavri in the paragnâh Talâri.

The town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Mâhyâr.

100 bigâhs.

200 bigâhs.

¹ *Sadârat* premiership.

² *مدد* pillar.

³ *باب* If you read *باب* door.

⁴ *صدارة* The office of Grand Vazir or prime minister

⁵ *محضر* *mahsarat panah*. *محضر* royal court.

The text and the Translation of the lines on the margin.

(Lines written at the commencement in an inverted position. *Vide photo-litho fac-simile.* A line under these is not clearly intelligible.)

بمضمون پروانچہ عمل نموده ہر جا کہ فرمان عالیشان مسجد باشد
 پروانچہ معطل ندارند بصح
 i.e., Acting upon the contents of the *Parwānchah* wherever His Majesty's order has been renewed, the *Parwānchah* may not be neglected.¹ (The abovementioned lines are under the following seal.)



A little under the seal we have the words *تحریر کردہ شد* i.e., written.

(The line on the margin of the other side of the *Parwānchah*.)

بموجب تعلیقہ حکم پروانچہ عالی قلمی شد
 i.e. according to the *Taliqah*, the order of the exalted *Parwānchah* has been written.

This document is a *Parwānchah*. About this kind of document Abul Fazl says:—

کما فرمان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند و دوسطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند
 آنرا پروانچہ بر گویند

"Farmāns are sometimes written in *Tughra* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmān is called a *Parwānchah*." (Bk. 11, Âin II., Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 263.)

We find, that as said above, in the two Farmāns, the two first lines are short, but in the *Parwānchah* in question they are not so.

Again the *Parwānchahs* are not signed by His Majesty. Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire to avoid delay, has ordered that these *Parwānchahs* need not be laid before him."²

¹ معطل *mu'atfal* abandoned, neglected.

² Blochmann's Translation I., p. 236.

Now let us examine the seals on the *Parwānchāh*. We find the seal of Khān Khānān in the front page below the marginal note. We read on it مرید اکبرشاہ خان خانان Murid-i-Akbar-Shāh-Khān Khānān. The wording on this seal is the same, as that on Khān Khānān's seal on the first Farmān, though the seal is a little different.

The Khān Khānān issued this *Parwānchāh* as the senior officer, under whose seal as the Vakil, the first Farmān was granted.

As in the case of the Farmān, the *Parwānchāh* also has its first fold less broad, and at a place towards the edge the paper is cut off, as referred to in the 12th Āin. It has ten seals, including that of Khan Khānān, referred to above.

The first seal on the right in the first fold has the words معصود علی حسن العبد This seems to be the seal of the officer Mirza Hasan Ali Beg referred to in the document.

The second seal on the first fold, a little on the left of the first seal has the words خان خانان . . . معصوم legible on it. The word in the middle looks like مرید. It would then mean Mā'acum the disciple of Khān Khānān.

The third seal on the first fold, a little on the left and a little above the second seal, has a few letters here and there legible, but the whole seal is not legible.

The next six seals are not legible. In the matter of dates, this *Parwānchāh* differs from the Farmān in this, that though in the body of the *Parwānchāh*, the ilāhi era is mentioned, in the four dates attached to the seals of the officers the dates are Mahomedan. In three cases it is the 22nd of the Ramzān رمضان of 1012 Hijri, and in the fourth case it is the 23rd of the same month.

We saw in the case of the second Farmān that it was granted in the 7th month Meher of the 48th year of the reign. It appears that even after that, the difficulties of Kaikobād were not over. The king had issued a general order that the grant of Madad-i-ma'āsh may generally be halved. So out of his 300 *bigdhs* of land, only 150 were left to him and the other 150 were taken away. This *Parwānchāh* then ordered that, in his case the whole of the land without any reduction may be given to him at once. The *Tuliqah* in this matter was made on the 22nd day of the 11th month Bahman, and the final *Parwānchāh* granted nine days later on, *i.e.*, the 1st of the 12th month Asfandārmaz.

Document No. 4. The fourth document (محضر) which speaks of the 200 bigahs given by King Akbar to Dastur Meherji Rana (vide above p. 42).

اللہ اکبر

نواب نامداری^۱ صادق محمد خان

فرض ازین نوشتہ آنکہ بتاریخ بیست و ششم ماه ربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۰۰۵ در عمل... بحضور شرع^۲ شریف شق نوساری و خواجہ میرزا جان تشقدار قصبہ مذکور مسمی کیقباد ولد مہربار پارسہ فرمان مالیشان آورد کہ سوازی دویست بیگہ زمین معہ درختان و تار و خرمان وغیرہ کہ دران زمین واقع است از سواد قصبہ مذکور قبل ازین در وجہ مدد معاش مہربار کہ مقبوضہ قدیم است تسلیم نمایند بنابراین بجهت تحقیق مقبوضہ سابق خواجہ مشارالیم و جماعت مسلمانان و کارکن^۳ و کماشتم امین و شماری و رعایان و مقدمان قصبہ مذکور بر مقبوضہ سابق عزیمت فرمودند و تمام مقبوضہ بہ تفصیل ذیل تحقیق نموده و پیموده مشخص نموده اند بدین تفصیل

(Here follow a number of lines giving a detail of measurements. Then we have the following lines on the right margin, making several statements. The first line on the right margin is as follows):-

ثبت ہذا المسطور باخبار المختبرین عند خادم الشرع شریف کثیر تمیضاتہم

(The next marginal statement is also on the right, under the above one. It runs as follows :—)

بحضور شرع شریف قصبہ نوساری معاملہ مدد معاش کیقباد مہربار بموجب فرمان و پروانچہ قدیم^۴..... محمد صدیق^۵.....

¹ The word is without *nuktahs*. It can also be read بایداری

² The last two letters are torn off in the original.

³ "Shiq-dar a governor : an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land."—Steingass.

⁴ I cannot make out exactly what this word is, but it seems to be نواب nawab, which we find in the full name in the beginning.

⁵ I cannot make out what follows.

(On the right of the foregoing lines, we find the following statement in Gujrati :—)

૩૦ ૨૬ ૧૨બી-
ભાષા ૨૧૧ ૧૦૦૫
શ. ૧૬૫૩.
૨૬૬૨ અમીન બુ. ફરમાન પાતશા...^૧ જલાલદી અક-
બર શાહ . . વળે વળે . .^૨ કેકબાજ મહીર પારસી ને બુ. મિ-
હજર દિલાઆ હજરતી કાજી તા. મીરજી જહાન દી-વો-
તેજપાલ વા ગુમશતે
પારસીની ને દેલાઆ મેહેજર ભરા ૨૦૦)
બાદિ ૧૧૯૧૧. વી ૮૦૧૩ ૬૨અતાન

(Then we have the following lines above the Gujrati lines) :—

چون در سال گذشته زمین خود کاشتم مع درختان خرما که آب
یکم دیسای پرکنه پارچول بسنه نامی فرق شده بیچ از و حاصل نمی شه

(Then follow a few lines of measurement, after which we have the following lines of what is called گواہی *gawāhi* or evidence about the 200 *bigahs* granted to Dastur Meherji Rana.

که این مقبوضه تمام بشرح صدر در وجه مدد معاش مهربار مذکور
قبل ازیں تعیین بود هرکه را بر صکت این حال و صدق این مقال
اعا و روشن باشد گواہی خویش در ذیل این محضر ثبت فرمایند
تا موجب اعتقاد و سامان گردد

(Here follow a number of signatures. Owing to the peculiar way in which the Mahomedan signatures are made, their decipherment is a little difficult. It is possible others may decipher and interpret them in another way).

مشاهد^۵ بما قبل عبدالکریم نور محمد بخطی^۶ الواحد من الحاضرين
نا ببولین کبریا

الواحد من الحاضرين خو محمد عبدالرزاق^۳ بخط

الواحد الله من الحاضرين فقير نعمت الله جميل الله

^۵ شاهد بما قبل تاج الدين بن اطف الله

¹ This is the date given in the commencement of the document. There the month is called "rabi'u-l sani," i.e., the second Rabi. Here it is called "rabi'u-l-akhar, i.e., the last rabi.

² Some letters which are unintelligible. The word બુ. in the first line is an abbreviation of બહુત બલદ i.e. the great (*farman*).

³ Not legible. Perhaps श्री.

⁴ Miswritten for سال

⁵ i.e., witness to what precedes.

⁶ i.e., written by my own hand.

અનંત નાનાબાઈ શાખ
 નાહાના¹ ચંગા શાખ
 ૧ રાહેરીઆર નાગોજ શાખ
 ૧ બેહરાંમ ફરેદુન શાખ
 ૧ રાંબુંજી આ. અમંન² શાખ •
 ૧ દાજી ધઈઆં શાખ
 ૧ કુકા³? માયુક શાખ
 ૧ મેહરા શોઈ શાદી
 ૧ કેસવ કઉ શાખ
 ૧ મહીઆં માંહીઆં શાખ (?)
 ૧ નાના જલદવ શાહદી
 ૧ ગોવંદ⁴ નરાંણુ શાહદી
 ૧ ધના હીરા શાખ

(Translation of the above fourth document.)

GOD IS GREAT.

Nawâb Nâmdârî Çâdiq Muhammad Khân.⁵

The object of this writing is this, that Whereas on the date 26th of *mâh* Kabi-ul-sâni year 1005 in the rule of⁶

¹ Reading doubtful.

² Or perhaps આષીન.

³ Reading doubtful. This and the succeeding two names seem to be Hindu.

⁴ The modern proper form would be ગોવિંદ નારાયણ. Govind Nâran. The last word શાહદી means witness شاهد.

⁵ *Vide* below, p. 145 for particulars about this personage.

⁶ It is said that in old writings of this kind, sometimes, when the subordinate officers had to mention the names of kings or princes, they, out of respect for the king or prince, kept the place for the name blank, leaving the readers to supply it. Sometimes the name was written on the margin. It seems that here, after the word عمل or rule, some space is left blank with a similar purpose. The *amâl* or rule referred to here may be either that of the king himself as the ruler of the whole country or that of Prince Sultan Murâd as the ruler of the province of Gujrat.

in the presence of Shar-i-Sharif¹ of the division² of Naosari and of Khwâjah Mirjâ Jân, the *shiqdâr*³ of the said town, a person named Kaikobâd, son of Meheryâr, a Parsee, brought the *farnian* of His Majesty, that about 200 bigahs of land—from the environs of the abovenamed town, together with palm and date trees, which are growing on that land—which were ere this, in the previous possession of Meheryâr for the purpose of his *madad-i-madsh*, be given to him, therefore for the purpose of ascertaining that old possession, the abovesaid Khwâjah, and an assembly of Mahomedans and *kar-kuns* and superintendents (*gumastahs*) of the Amin⁴ and *shumâri*⁵ and non-Mahomedan subjects⁶ and leaders⁷ of the said *kasbah*, resolved (to meet) on the old possession and having examined as detailed below,⁸ and, having measured, ascertained the whole possession according to these details.

(Translation of the first line on the right margin, p. 139.)

This⁹ description (is) written according to the information of informers¹⁰ (brought) before¹¹ me (lit. servant) in the Court of Justice much¹² (. . .)

¹ شریف Shar'-i-Sharif "citing one before a Court of Justice." The Qâzi seems to be referred to under this title. That the Qâzi of a place had something to do with the jagirs appears from the following passage in the 19th Âin. (Bk. II.):—

"Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qâzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God's favour, to place no further reliance on these men (the Qâzis)." Blochmann's Translation I., p. 269.

² شق Shiqq "a large division of a country forming a collectorate."

³ Vide above, p. 139, n. 3.

⁴ امین an officer employed to collect the revenues.

⁵ شماري counting, gumashteh-i-shumâri, i.e., officers making calculations.

⁶ رعایان subjects, especially non-Mahomedan of a Mahomedan ruler.

⁷ مقدم muqaddam leader. मुख्या

⁸ ذیل appendix, postscript.

⁹ هذا this. ¹⁰ مخبر mukhbîr, informer, teller of news. ¹¹ عند near, before, according to.

¹² The last two words are not intelligible.

(Under this first line on the right margin, we have a seal on the right. It reads):—

حضرت سبحان خادم الشرع فضل الله بن دوسي عمادی
i.e., Fazlallah, son of...¹,¹ servant of glorious God.²

(Translation of the second line on the right margin beginning with حضور p. 139.)

In the presence of Sharⁱ-i-Sharif (i.e., Court of Justice or the Qāzi presiding there) of the town of Naosari, in the affair of the madad-i-ma'āsh of Kaikobād Maheryâr according to the old *farman* and *parwanchah*³ Muhammad Qâdiq⁴

(Over these lines, a little on the left there is a seal. It reads:—)

عبده ميرزا جان ابن خواجه خان
i.e., servant Mirzâ Jân,⁵ the son of Khwājah Khān.

(Translation of the statement above the Gujrati lines, p. 140.)

As in the past year, his cultivated land with date trees,—the water of Kikâ Desâi (?) of the *paragnah* of Parchol, being shut up—was all drowned, no income was obtained out of it.

(Translation of the last statement about the *gawdhi*)

The whole of this possession was, ere this, fixed in the above *Sharh*,⁶ for the purpose of the *madad-ma'āsh* of the abovesaid Meheryâr.⁷ Those who are aware and informed of the correctness of this state of affair, and of the truth of this statement may write their signatures (lit. evidence) below this document, so that it may be the cause of confidence and arrangement.

(Under this form, about 17 persons put their signatures to certify that the land of Meheryâr, was examined and settled by them. Among the signatories we find members of all communities, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Parsees.

¹ This name is not quite legible.

² The person referred to here seems to be the Qāzi or the *Shari-i-Sharif* referred to in the body of the document.

³ This word is not quite intelligible.

⁴ The rest of the writing is not intelligible to me.

⁵ The Gujarati lines also give this name.

⁶ The *Sharh* or description, as given above.

⁷ In this document, we find the name Mâhyâr as Meheryâr, which is the proper form under which the name has come down to us as Meherji.

As one should expect in a Mahomedan Government, the first signatories are Mahomedans, and they sign in Persian characters. It is difficult to give correctly the names of all the signatories of this document. But I will give them as far as can be deciphered.

The Mahomedan signatures are as follow :—

1. Abdul Karim Nur Muhammad.
2. Mohammad Abdul Razâk.
3. Fakir Naâmat Allah Jamil Allah.

(Most of the signatories begin their signature with the word الواحد *i.e.*, the one, *i.e.*, the God. They also add the words من ال حاضرین *i.e.*, “From the persons present.” They mean to say that they were present when the measurements, etc., were made.)

4. Tajuddin bin Latfullah.

(Then follow Hindu and Parsee signatures. Most of them add the words شاکس or شاکسین *i.e.*, witness after their names.)

5. Anant Nânâbhâi. (This is a Hindu name.)
6. Nâbnâ Changâ ?
7. Shaheryâr Nâgoj (Parsee).
8. Beharâm Faredun (Parsee).
9. Rânji Bahman (Parsee).
10. Dâji Dhayân (Parsee).
11. Kuka Mânak.¹
12. Mesh Shôî.¹
13. Kesav Kau.¹
14. Mâhiâ Mâhiân (Parsee).
15. Nânâ Jâdav.
16. Govand Narân (Hindu).
17. Dhanâ Hira (Parsee!).

We will now examine the contents of this document : —Firstly as to the person Çâdik Muhammed Khân, who issued the order, we find the following particulars about him :—

¹ Reading doubtful.

صادق محمد خان Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was one of the great Amirs and commanders of Akbar. He was one of the grandees (No. 43) named by Abul Fazl in his *Âin-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., Âin 30). Abul Fazl there calls him simply صادق خان Çâdiq Khân.¹ Blochmann says, "Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abul Fazl leaves them out in this list."² "Other Historians call him Câdiq Muhammad Khân. . . . He was one of the best officers Akbar had."³ We read in Badâ'uni,⁴

از رسیدن این خبر فرمان بشاهزاده سلطان مراد ببالوه رفت تا
بدارائی گجرات منصوب گردد و محمد صادق خان را بجای اسمعیل
قلی خان بوکالت او نامزد گردانیده از درگاه رخصت دادند و سرکار
سورت و بهروج از تغیر قلیج خان در وجه جایگزین او⁵ مقرر شد

Translation.—"On the arrival of the news,⁶ a *farmân* was sent to the Prince Sultân Murâd that he should become governor of Guzrât, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Çâdiq Khân in the place of Ismâ'îl Qulî Khân as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Barouch (Broach), on account of the removal of Qulij Khân, was fixed as his *jâgîr*."⁷

This event is described under the events of 1001 Hijri. We thus see that Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was appointed under Prince Murad at the head of the *Şarkâr* of Surat in 1001 H. He continued to serve in this office till he died in 1005.⁸ So he appears to have issued this order a few days before his death.

¹ Blochmann's text I, p. 223, Translation I., p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, Translation I., p. 355, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 355 and 357.

⁴ Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 337, ll. 17-21.

⁵ Compare the words *و جر جاگیر مقرر شد* used here with similar words issued in the two *farmâns* and the *parwânâhah*. These words, which Blochmann translates by "was fixed as his *jâgîr*," seem to be the technical words for similar *farmâns*.

⁶ *Viz.*, that Khân-i-Azam Mirza Kokah (Mirza Kokah, one of the signatories on the 1st *Farmân*, *vide* above, p. 111), who was the Governor of Gujrat, had suddenly left his post and gone to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

⁷ Lowe's Translation II., p. 401.

⁸ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 357.

He is called *nâmdâr*, but if we read the word پايدار *pâidâr* (i.e., holder of the foot), it seems to be a title or a post in the king's service. At one time he was called ريكابددار *Rikabddâr*, i.e., spur-holder. This was a post he held in Bairam's service.

The first three documents were the documents from the King's own Court. They were what we can call Imperial documents. The fourth document under consideration is not Imperial, but what we may call Provincial. But it is very important in this point, that it speaks more particularly, of the 200 *bigâhs*, allotted previously to Dastur Meherji Rana. It seems that on Kaikobad's going to the *Sârkar* of Surat, armed with the very *farmân* of His Majesty (dated 1003 Hijri) in the matter of the 200 *bigâhs* granted to his father and 100 to him personally, the Nawâb of that district issued an order that the original land granted to Meherji Rana may be ascertained and fixed on the authority of well-informed persons. It seems, that on the death of Meherji Rana, Kaikobad was not allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the place, so he must have gone personally to the Court of Akbar and obtained the *farmân* of the Shah. This inquiry was the result of the *farmân*.

Having given the text and translation of the Persian documents—two *farmâns*, one *parwanchah*, and one *mahzar*—of King Akbar's time referring to the original grant of 200 *bigâhs* of land to Dastur Meherji Rana, and having examined their contents, we will now examine some of the Gujarati documents referred to in the paper. The documents have an important bearing on the subject-proper of the paper. But apart from that, they will be found interesting from several points of view. To the student of the Gujarati language, they present specimens of Gujarati, especially Parsee Gujarati, written about 300 years ago. Again they throw side-lights on some religious customs of the day. In the case of the Persian documents, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles and have reproduced them in types in the same way as they are written. In the case of these Gujarati documents also, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles, but in reproducing them in types, I have changed a little the old forms of letters and have given them in a way as can be best read now by the Gujarati reader. In case of old archaic forms I have given in foot-notes their modern forms. I give the documents and their translations in the order in which they are referred to in the paper.

¹ Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari* I., p. 355.

(Document No. 5. *The first agreement (of 1635 samvat) that refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.*)

નૌસારીના મોખેદો દસ્તુર મેહેરજી રાનાને પોતા વડા ગણેછે
તે બાબિનો પેહેલો લેખ).

સંમસ્ત અંજમન નુસારીનાં ભેગ લ. સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત શ્રોસ ત. નવ'સો નવાડે જે હેરબુદ આપસની નુબતે^૨ નવાડે તે એ. શ્રી મેહેરજી રાંણાને હજૂર પુછી નવસો દીએ ત. શ્રોસ ઈજે તે પુછી ઈજ. પોત'દાર વરાંએ શ્રોસ ત. નવસોનાં દોડડા જે આવે તે પોતદાર આલે^૪ તે વરાંએ બીજું કોઈ નહી આલે^૪ જે આલે^૪ તે અંજમનનુ ગુનાહગાર શ્રોસ ઈજે ત. નવસો દીએ તે એ. શ્રી મેહેરજી વાણાને પુછી દીએ. નહી પુછે તે અંજમનનુ ગુનાહગાર. રોજ ગુઆદ માહ તીર સંવત ૧૬૩૫ વર્ષે કતબે સંમસ્ત હેરબુદ

૧^૫

૧ મોબદ ખુરસેદ (સા)

૧ ચાંદણાં કાકા (મતુ)

૧ પદમ રસ્તમ (મતુ)

૧ મોબદ સાએર

૧ બહેરાંમ જે સંગ

૧ આ. ધમપાલ^૬ કામદીન

૧ બહન હોશંગ

^૧ તથા નવસો *Nav-shô*, the sacred bath given every third day in the Barash-num ceremony of nine days. Perhaps *نوشو*, i.e., a new bath (*شويدن*) or from Avesta *نوشو* i.e. (the ceremony of) 9 nights.

^૨ વારી પ્રમાણે *نوبت* turn.

^૩ વારીદાર. The person to whose lot the turn comes, or perhaps *پوندار* from *پوت* a treasury. The man who collects all income to be afterwards divided according to shares.

^૪ The word *આલું* in the sense of 'to give, to bring,' is still used in Nowsari.

^૫ In the signatures in the Gujarati documents, I put into brackets those words at the end of names which do not form a part of the names, but signify different meanings which the signatories wish to convey. In these signatures આ. is for અધીઆર i.e., priests, લ. or લા. is for લખતંગ i.e., writer. This word is sometimes written in full, in various ways, such as લખતં or લખતમ. The word કતેબ *کاتب* also 'signifies writer.' It also is variously written as કતબ or કતબે or કતબ. The word શ્રી also is found appended to names. It is a Gujarati form of appellation still used among Hindus.

^૬ or ધરપાલ.

૧ નુશૈરવાંન યાશદન
 ૧ ચાંદણા કાંમદીન ધનપાલ
 ૧ અ. રાણા પેશીતન
 ૧ આ. મેહેરજી ચાંદજી
 ૧ આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ ભાઈઆ
 ૧ આ. બહાંન બહેરામ

Translation of the first agreement.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôôsâri. Writers (are) all the Herbad's (*i.e.*, priests). To wit. When they perform Sraôsh (ceremony) and give the sacred bath, the priest, who gives the bath according to his turn, shall give the bath, after asking the permission of Meherji Rana. And when he performs the Sraôsh ceremony he shall perform it after asking (him). The persons, entitled in turn, may bring the Dokdâ (*i.e.*, the share of fees), which may come to their share for the Sraôsh and sacred bath. No persons, other than these, shall take them. He who will take them will be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. He who performs the Sraôsh and gives the sacred baths, must ask Meherji Vachcha before doing so. He, who would do that, without asking him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. *Rôz Guâd mâh Tir Samvat 1635*¹ Written by all Herbad's.

(Signed)—Mobad Khoorsed. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Padam Rustam. Mobad Sâhêr. Baherâm Jesang. Dhampâl (or Gharpâl) Kâmdin. Bahman Hoshang. Nushervân Yâshdain (Âsain). Chândnâ Kâmdin Dhanpâl. Rana Peshitan. Meherji Chandji. Khoorshed Bahêrâm Bhâîyâ. Bahman Baherâm.

(Document No. 6. The second agreement (of 1636 samvat) which refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.)

(નોસારીનાં મોબેદો દસતુર મેહેરજી રાનાને વડા ગણેછે તે ખાંબોનો (સવંત ૧૬૩૬ નો) બીજો લેખ)

શ્રી અંજમન નુસારીનાં જોગ્ય લા. હેરજીદ સમસ્ત જત અંગીયારીની રાસ વેહેવા તા. ઘઘરંણાં તા. સેરાશ તા. શેઆવ તા. સંજના તા. નવસો તથા ભગર તા. અંગીઆરી સંમધી જે કાંઈ આવે તે એ. શ્રીમેહેરજી વાછાની તરસીમ^૨ કીધું. એ. શ્રી મેહેરજી વાછાની બગેર^૩ રળ કુંઈ અંગીયારી સંમધી

¹ *i.e.*, 12th March 1579. Parsee Prakâsh, p. 8.

^૨ تسليم conceding, granting. સેપજ.

^૩ بغیر without બગર.

ઉચ્ચાલે¹ વંણ પુછે² કાંમ કરે તે વરસ ૧ એક લગે ભાગથી અલગ. એયાંન³ ત-
યુગ⁴ પકરે, તે દોકડુ ૧ લીએ તેહનાં અમનાં એયાંનત આપે. એ નાંમુ એ.
શ્રી મહેરજી વાણાની તસલીમ કીયું. એ લખાથી ચુકે તે અંજમનનું ગુહનેગાર.
એ નાંમુ એ. મહેરજીની શેહતે રહે સહી. રોજ મહેર મા. દેએ સંવત ૧૬૩૬
છતરીશા વર્ષ.

પ્રેમયાં ચાંદજી શાખ્યે

૧

૧

૧

૧

૧ બહાન ચાંદા (મતુ)

૧ આ. પેસીતન ચાંદા (લખતંગ)

૧ અ. બહેરામ જેસંગ. (લખતંગ)

૧ લા. આ. પદમ રૂસ્તમ

૧ અ. કુર્કબાદ મહીઆર

આ. ચાંદણાં કાકા (લખતંગ)

૧ આ. ધરપાલ કામદીન (લખતંગ)

૧ લા. આ. શાપુર આસા

૧ લા. આ. ચાંદણાં કામદીન ધન-

પાલ (સાખ)

૧ લા. આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ મ-
હીઆર

૧ નુશેરવાન યાશદૈન (લખતંગ)

૧ આદર રાણા (કતબે⁵)

૧ લ. બહાન હેશંગ

૧ આ. મોબદ સાએર (મતુ)⁶૧ નરસંગ રામજી⁷

¹ ઉચ્ચાલે. The latter part of the word આલે, (bring) is the same as in the previous agreement. So it may be another form of the same word or it may be some word from **آلیدن** to recede, to depart from an agreement.

² વગર પુછવે.

³ **خداوند** fraud.

⁴ Perhaps **کوک** a profound inobedience or genuflection before the King; humility; or **યુક** a mistake; or perhaps read **યુગ** રૂ. The meaning seems to be dishonesty.

⁵ કતબે is the same as લખતંગ. Like લા. or લખતંગ it either precedes the name or comes after it.

⁶ I have put into brackets the words at the end which do not form a part of the names, but simply signify "a witness, a signatory, a writer," &c.

⁷ or Rānji રાનજી.

૧ આ. કાકા અસરીઆ (સખતમ)

૧ લા. પેસીતન જીવા (આ.)

૧ નરીમાંન હોમ (સાખ)

૧ આ. ખુરશેદ બહન (સાખ)

૧ આ. બહીઆં બેહરામ (સાખ)

૧ આ. બેહરામ ફરેડુન

Translation of the second agreement.

To the Anjuman of Naôôsâri. Writers all the priests. To wit, (All the affairs of) the income of the Agiârî¹, marriage and re-marriage and Sraôsh, and Siâv², and Sanjâpa³, and *nav-sô*, and Bhagar,⁴ and all the income in connection with the Agiârî are entrusted to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He, who shall recede from the agreement,⁵ or do anything in connection with the Agiârî, without the permission of Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ, and shall do any work without asking him, shall be debarred for one year from his share. He who fraudulently or dishonestly (*i.e.*, without permission) receives any fees, shall have to give two, for every Dokdâ, that he receives.⁶ This agreement is given to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He who breaks the terms of this writing shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. This agreement shall remain with Meherji. Signed Rôz Meher, *mâh Deh Samvat* 1636⁷ thirty-six Varkhê.

Dhayân Chandji (Shâkh, *i.e.*, witness) Bahman Chânda. Pesitan Chânda. Baherâm Jesang. Padam Rustam. Kaêkabad Mahiyâr. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Gharpâl Kâmdin. Shapur Asâ. Chândnâ Kâmdin

¹ The temple where the religious ceremonies are performed.

² Consecrated clothes which are presented to the priests as a part of their fees.

³ *i.e.*, the fees of ceremonies falling to the lot of the priests, who had come to Naôôsâri from Sanjân, with the sacred fire of the first great fire temple founded in India.

⁴ *i.e.*, the bhâg or share of fees falling to the lot of the original priests of Naôôsâri. "જગર વાતજી" *i.e.*, to divide the Bhagar or shares is a term even now used in some places. Out of the sacred breads presented at the fire-temple by different parties for the recital of the Bâjs, the officiating priest removes one from each Bâj and all from the Sraôsh *bâj*. The collection so made is afterwards divided by the priests as a part-payment of their fees.

⁵ *Vide* above, p. 149, n. 1.

⁶ *i.e.*, for every pice that one receives for secretly performing any religious ceremony, without informing and taking the permission of Meherji, he shall have to pay two as fine. ⁷ *i.e.*, 1st September 1580.

Dhanpāl. Khoorshed Baherām Mahiyār. Nushervān Yāshdāin. Adar Rānā. Bahaman Hoshang. Mobad Sāêr. Narsang Ranji. Kākā Asdia. Pesitan Jivā. Narimān Hōm. Khurshed Bahman. Dhairyā Beharām. Beherām Farēdun.

(Document No. 7. An old copy of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies, wherein Dastur Meherji Rānā signs at the top).

કીધાએ બરાબર કરવા બાબેનો સંવત ૧૬૨૨ નો લેખ જેમાં મેહરજી રાના વડા તરફે પેહેલી સહી કરેછે).

સમસ્ત શ્રી અંજમન નુશારીના જોગ લખતં શમસ્ત અંધ્યરૂ તથા શમશત હેરખુદ જત આજ પછી જે કોઈ અંધ્યરૂ ધાઈ અગીઆરી માહાં ફતરત^૧ કરે ભગર લુટી^૨ ચોરી કરે બેહેદીનની ફરસ્ત આપણ શી કરી આપણ સિધી સેઈ જાએ^૩ તે અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર અને દીવાનની ખેઆનત સમારે. બીજું બાજનું ધરનાર જેહનું વાઝ^૪ હુએ તે દીશ પુકુરમાં ખુબ કરી બે પુરમાંહા શરવ બાજ ધરે. બાજ ધરતાં તખશીર નહીં કરે. તેહની બાજ ધરણા શમદ^૫ જે લવાજમ સદા છે તે લીએ તે વરા^૬આં કાંઈ અધીક નહીં લીએ. બાજ ધરતાં ઇજશને હદાલાને કોઈ દારાહી^૭ નહીં દીએ આપણ શી દાદ દાવર આગલ માગે. બીજું સરોશ, સ્થાવ, વેહેવા, ઘઘરણાં શરવ^૮માંહ જે કોઈ ચોરી કરે તે ભી અનજમનનું ગુનાહગાર, દીવાનની ખેઆનતસમારે. બીજું ભગર વાંટે તે બાજ ધરીઆ પાખી નહીં વાંટે. બાજ ધરી સર્વે વાંટે લીએ સહી. અસ્થલ ખત વધે પ્રપાંલનાય^{૧૦} રાજ આદરમાંહ અસંપદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૨ વર્ષે

^૧ فتره relaxation, remission અપોકસાઈ, બેદરકારી.

^૨ લુટ. એટલે અગીઆરીના કામમા બેદરકારી કરે અને લુટ અથવા ચોરી કરે એટલે અપ્રમાણીકપણ વાપરે. ^૩ પોતાનાં ફક્તી સરોસની બાજના દરન ઊપરાત બેહેદીનનાં દરન પોતાનાં કરી પોતાસાથે લઈ જાય, તે ખેઆનત (خیانت fraud) માટે જવાબદાર રહે. ^૪ વાઝો રોપ, turn.

^૫ બેપુર એટલે બપોર. દીશપુદર (હાવનગેહની શરઆત) માં ખુબ કરી બપોર પડ્યાં બાજ પરી રહે.

^૬ سمت finding the right way, course, direction, towards. ^૭ ورا except, besides સીવાય.

^૮ داراي keeper, supporter. دارانیدن to cause to hold, i.e., કોઈ અપેક્ષે નહીં (doubtful); અથવા કોઈ અડકે નહીં. કોઈ બાજ ધરતો દેખતો તેનાં ઇપોરાપર જઈ તેની કીયાને અવાજ (અપાવ) કરે નહીં, પણ તેની સામે જે કીયા દેખતો હમતુર ઘરવ આગલ જઈ કસ્યાદ કરે. Compare this word with the word دارائی used by Badaoni (vide above, p. 145, l. 2 of the Persian passage). The meaning seems to be no body should disturb him while performing the ceremony.

^૯ સર્વે. ^{૧૦} It is an old form of benediction which means that the parties should adhere to the terms of agreement.

૧ કતબે ^૧ સમસ્ત હેરબુદ અંધ્યરૂ	
૧ લા. મહીઆર વાણી	૧ લા. આ. સાચેર બહેરામ
૧ બહમન આ. ચાંદા (કતબુ)	૧ લા. પદમ રૂસ્તમ બહેરામ.
૧ આ. કુચેકબાદ મહીઆર	૧ લખતમ કુઈઆ મણુકા
૧ આ. કાકા શુત ^૨ આસદીન	૧ લા. કામદીન રાણાં
૧ લા. આ. પદમ રસ્તમ	૧ લા. દોહીઆ હોમ
૧ રાણાં ચાચા	૧ આ. પદમ જીવા (મતુ).
૧ આ. હોશંગ હોસંગ (લખત)	૧ લા. ચાંદણા કાકા
૧ લા. ફરદીન કાકા	૧ લા. કામદીન હોસંગ
૧ લા. બહમન હોસંગ	૧ રાણા નરસંગ
૧ લા. શાપુર આશા	૧ લા. આ. પેશીતન ચાંદા.
૧ આ. અસ્પંદીઆર કાકા શાખ	
૧ લખતમ રૂસ્તમ ધણપાલ	
૧ લા. મોવદ મેહેરવાન	
૧ આ. જેસંગ ભયા	

*Translation of the document about the proper performance
of the ceremonies.*

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri.—Writers the priests and all the Herbadis. To wit. From this day forward, he, who being a priest, is relax in (his work in) the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple), or practises dishonesty and fraud in the matter of his share (*bhagar*) appropriates as his own, the *farast*^૩ of the Behedin (*i.e.*, the layman) and takes them away with him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman, and shall be responsible for the loss. Again he, whose

^૧ એટલે લખતમ અથવા લખનાર.

^૨ કોકરો. કાકાનો કોકરો આસદીન એટલે આસદીન કાકા Kâkâ's son Asdin.

^૩ Of the draughts (*i.e.*, consecrated breads) some are called *fracast* from the word (ફ્રાકાસ્ટ) *fracastî* (yaçna VIII-1), on reciting which, it is lifted up by the officiating priest and tasted in the ritual. (Le Zend Avesta par Darmestetter, Vol. I., Introduction LXVI). Out of these sacred breads used in the recital of "different *Bâjs* (જા) in honour of different *yazatas*, the priest has the right of taking to his own house, those in the Sraôsh Bâj, *i.e.*, the Bâj in honour of Sraôsha. The other sacred breads consecrated in the other Bâjs, are taken back from the fire-temple to their own houses, by the laymen, who get the ceremony performed. Here it is meant that the priest, who besides taking the sacred breads of the Sraôsh Bâj, over which he has a prescriptive right as a part of payment in kind, takes away other sacred breads also, will be considered as committing a dishonest act.

turn it is to perform the Bâj ceremony, shall perform the Khûb¹ in the *pôhar*² of the day and finish all the Bâjs by the second *pôhar* (i.e., noon). He shall commit no faults in the Bâj recitals. He shall take as his proper fee for the Bâj, the usual allowance. He shall not take anything more than that. While performing the Bâj ceremony, he shall not create a disturbance³ on the Hindolâ (i.e., the stone slab for the performance) of the Yazashné. He shall pray for justice before the Dâvar. Again, he also, who shall be dishonest in the matter of (the fees of) *Sraôsh siâv*, marriage, re-marriage and all (such ceremonies) shall be guilty before the Anjuman. He shall make amends for the loss. Again the distribution of the shares shall not be without the performance of the Bâj. All shall be distributed after the Bâj⁴. The original agreement may ever be respected.⁵

Rôz Âdar mah Aspadâmad samvat 1622.

Writers all the Herbad, priests.

(Signed)

Mahyâr Vâchhâ.

Bahman Chânda.

Kâkabad Mahiyâr.

Kâka's son Âsdin.

Padam Rustam.

Rana Châchâ.

Hoshang Hosang.

Fardin Kâkâ.

Bahman Hosang.

Shâpur Âsâ.

Aspandiyâr Kâkâ.

Rustam Dhanpâl.

Movad Meherwân.

Jesang Jâyâ.

Sâer Baherâm.

Padam Rustam Baherâm.

Kaiya Mankâ.

Kâmdin Rânâ.

Dohiyâ Hôm.

Padam Jivâ.

Chândnâ Kâkâ.

Kâmdin Hosang.

Rânâ Narsang.

Peshitan Chândâ.

¹ Khub is a preparatory ceremony, which a priest must perform in order to be considered as qualified for the performance of several other ceremonies.

² *چتر* watch of the day. The time meant seems to be the first part of the Hâvangâh.

³ Doubtful! It may mean 'he shall not lean'. The priest who performs the Bâj ceremony has, even now, to do so sitting in a position detached from adjoining sides or things; or it may mean, he shall not go over the Hindolâ of other priests and disturb them. If he has any grievance against others, he must properly submit them before the Dâvar, i.e., the person deputed to inquire into and do justice in such cases. *Vide* p. 151, n. 8.

⁴ *Vide* p. 150, n. 4. ⁵ *Vide* p. 151, n. 10.

Document No. 8. (આતશબેહરામમાં કીયા કામ કરતા તાડી નહી પીવા બાબેના સવત ૧૬૨૬ નાં લેખ.)

The document about abstaining from toddy during one's turn to officiate at the Fire-temple.)

સમસ્ત અંજમન ભેગ્ય લા. સમસ્ત હેરબુદ જત હેરબુદ સારતુ^૧ થાએ તાડી નહી પીએ જે તાડી પીએ તે બરસમ હાથ નહી ધરે સારણાંથી બાહિર નીકળે, બરશનુમ માંહાંથી બાહિર કલે સહી ને ના કોઈ આતશ બુએ દીએ તે તાડી નહી પીએ તાડી પીએ તે બરશનુમથી બાહિર નીકળે સહી. રોજ અરદબેહશત માહ અસમંદારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૬ વર્ષે જે કોઈ બાજ ધરે તે તેતલા દહાડા આપણસી નુબતે અગીઆરામાંથી રહે તેતલા દહાડા દરવંદ સાથે નહીં અડકે સહી

કતાબે મહીઆર વાણી

૧ આ. શાપુર આસા (કતાબે)

આ. ઘરપાલ આ. કામદીન (કતાબે)

૧ આ. પેસતન જીવા (કતાબે)

૧ કતાબે ખુરશેદ બહેરામ

૧ ક. આ. હમજીઆર પદમ

૧ કતાબે આ. નરસંગ સાએર

૧ બહેરામ સૈદીઆર (કતાબે)

૧ આ. કાકા સુત^૨. અસપંદીઆર (કતાબે)

૧ (કતાબે) પદમ રૂસ્તમ

૧ મહેરજી માનક (કતાબે)

૧ આ. ખુરસેદ અસદીન (કતાબે)

૧ આ. કહઁઆ માણક (કતાબે)

૧ નુશેરવાન આસદીન (કતાબે)

૧ ચાંદણાં કામદીન (કતાબે)

૧ રૂસ્તમ સહીઆર (કતાબે)

૧ મોવદ સાએર (કતાબે)

૧ કુએકબાદ મહીઆર (કતાબે)

^૧ સારતો, કાયા હીયાકામ કરતો. Ar. ^۱ شروع سرائییدن to chant. ગાઈને ભથતો (of "ગેહ સારતો, આશીરવાદ સારતો, એટલે સખળી કીઆ કરતો.) The meaning seems to be "when he begins to perform religious ceremonies."

^૨ ગાયા ઇન્શાને વિગેરે ભથવાની કીયાથી.

^૩ contracted form of કાલેબ کاتب writer.

^૪ Vide p. 152, n. 2.

^૫ The first part of this name is not quite clear. But I think it is the same as that which appears in the old copy of the original of 1622 *Samvat* as કહઁઆ મણક. The old copy of *Samvat* 1622 is not a safe guide, because it is not the original itself. I think the name is ખઁઆ, the like of which we find in other names. By the help of the second part of this name here, we can correct the second part (father's name) of the name in the document of 1622 as માણક instead of મણક. The former name is common among Parsees.

Translation.

To the whole of the Anjuman. Writers all the Herbads (priests). To wit. The priest who begins officiating (at the Yaçna ceremony), shall not drink *toddy*. He who drinks *toddy* shall not hold the *barçam* in his hand.¹ He shall be out of the Çárnâ,² shall be out of the Barashnûm.³ And he who performs the ceremony of Bôi before the fire (of the Âtash-Beharâm) shall not drink *toddy*. If he drinks *toddy*, he shall have to be out of the Barashnûm. Roz Ardi-behesht *mâh* Aspandarmad *Samvat* 1026. He who performs the Bâj may remain (at his home) from the Agiary during the days of his turn (of office), and shall not come in contact with *darvands* (i.e., non-zoroastrians).

Mahyâr Vâchhlâ
Shâpur Âsâ
Gharpâl Kamdin
Pestan Jivâ

Khurshed Baherâm
Hamajiâr Padam
Narsang Sâêr
Baherâm Sahyâr
Kâka's son Aspandyâr
Padam Rustam
Maherji Mânock
Khursed Âsdim
Kaiya Mânock
Nusherwan Âsdim
Chandnâ Kâmdin
Rustam Sahyâr
Movad Sâêr
Kaekabâd Mahyâr.

(Document No. 9. The document for the assignment of a *Wadi* at *Pipalia* to Dastur Meherji Rana.

દસ્તુર મેહરજી રાનાને આપવામાં આવેલી પીપલીઆ મથેની
વાડી બાબેનો લેખ.)

સવંત ૧૬૨૯ ઊગાથત્રીસોતરા વરખે રોજ ફોરમજદ મા શહરેવર

¹ The *برسم* (Ar. *برسم*) is used only in the Yaçna, Bâj and Vendidad ceremonies. So to debar one from holding the *barçam*, means that he shall not perform the above ceremonies, *vide* pp. 21-22.

² i.e., the higher class of ceremonies in which the *barçam* is used.

³ Those who perform the ceremonies in which the *barçam* is held, have to go through the Barashnûm ceremony.

⁴ The figure 29 is repeated in words.

અથે શ્રી નાગમંડળ કરણે¹ પાદશાહ શ્રીઅકબરશાહ વેળ² રાજે હવાસે-
ખાન શ્રી કસેય મહમદખાન વ્યાપારે પંચકુળ પ્રજાપતે³ લા. શા.⁴ મેના-
ચહેર બહાન તથા પા. નાગુજ માણક તથા નુશેરવાન ચાંગા તથા શે.⁵
ધેઆં આસદીન તથા રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ તા. સમસ્ત એહેદીન અંજમન નુસા-
રીનાં આ. મૈહાર વાઘા જોગ્ય જત એનામ વાડી પીપલીઆ મથે ભુમી
વીંધાં ૧૦ દસ તાડ ૫૦ પચાસ તા. ખજૂરી ૧૦૦ એકસો સાલ પે સાલ⁶
એનાંમ પહે⁷ દીવાનકનેથી પલાવે⁸ સમસ્ત એહેદીન મલી પલાવે સહી.

નાગુજ માણક (લખતન)

૧ નરીમાં હોમ (લખતં)

૧ લા. નુશેરવાન ચાંગા

૧ આઊવા ધેયાં લખતન

૧ લા. રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ

૧ રાણજી બહમન (શા)

૧ લા. ધણ્યાં આશદીન

Translation.

In the year *Samvat* 1629 *roz* Hormazd *māh* Shaharēvar in Nāgmandal⁹ in the time of Pādshāh Akbar Shāh in the victorious rulership of Kalich Mahmād Khān,¹⁰ the ruler of the trading and all the mixed communities. Writers Manochahēr Buhman and Nāgōj Mānock and Nusherwān Chāngā and Dhāiyān Āsīn and Rustam Jamshed and all of the laymen class of Nāōsāri. To Mahyār Vāchhā. To Wāt, an Inām¹¹ wādi at Pipalia of 10 *bigāhs* of land with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees shall be maintained¹¹ as *inām* from year to

¹ قرون a generation, time, વખત, અકબરપાદશાહનાં વખતમાં.

² વિજય victory.

³ એ મહમદખાનનાં વિધેસન છે કે “વેપારી પચકુલ પ્રજાના પતી” એટલે વેપારી અને પાંચ વરણની જાનોં પછી

⁴ એ આ. (અધ્યાસ) અથવા પા. (પારસી) જેવા ઊપર આવેલા દુકા રૂના જેવું રૂપ છે. એ શા તે શાહજી દુકુ રૂપ છે, એ શાહ હાલપણ હોંદુઆમાં માનની ઈલાલી તરીકે વપરાય છે. કહેલે એ કાગુલમાં પણ વપરાય છે.

⁵ શે લાંબીએ તે સંસ્કૃત (શેટ)નું એ રૂપ હોય.

⁶ سال بسال એટલે દર વરસે

⁷ કરથી છેડવે. દીવાન કનેથી રાજ્યના કરોથી તે ઇનામી જમીન તરીકે ધર્મખાતે યુદી રખાવે.

⁸ An old name of Nāōsāri.

⁹ Vide p. 157 for this personage.

¹⁰ Inām انعام. According to Badaoni In'āmi-zamīnā, and In'āmi-dehā were some of the old terms applied to lands (Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbari I., p. 271).

¹¹ The word is પાલે. It is P. پالیدن to rear, to purify. The meaning seems to be that they would see that the land may remain in the hand of Meherji Rana for religious purposes as *inām* land, free of taxes. To properly understand this document we must read it in relation with another document (p. 158) given to Meherji Rana's father by the laymen. Or the meaning may be એ બાડી એ નામ ઉપર રહે i.e., the wadi may be on this (Meherji Rana's) name.

year. It shall be maintained free from taxes from the Diwân (i.e., the civil authorities). All laymen shall so maintain it free.

(Signed.)

Nagôj Mânock

Nariman Hom

Nusherwan Changâ

Auwa Dhaiyân

Rustam Jamshed¹

Rânji Bahman (witness)

Dhaiyân Ashdin

We will examine here, who the officer Kalich (Kalij) Mahamad Khân, alluded to in the above document was.

We learn from the Tabakât-i-Akbari that Kalij Khan was the Governor of Surat at this time (1629 *Samvat*, i.e., 1573-74 A. D.). We read in that book: "Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarât. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, (1573) in the 18th year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded" The conquest of Surat "was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980. Next day the Emperor went on to inspect the fortress on the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khân."²

Elliot gives the name in the above passage as Kalij Khan, but the text of the Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the full name as قلیج محمد خان Kalij Mahamad Khân, as we find it in the text of the document. Elliot's translation is too free. The passage about this officer's appointment is as follows:—

و ہمانروز نام حکومت و حراست قلعہ سورت و آن⁴ ناحیہ را اقتدار قلیج محمد خان کر بشرف و منزلت اختصاص دارد تفویض شد⁵
i.e., on that very day the Government and the custody of the

¹ On comparing his signature in the original (*vide* the photo-litho) with his name as written in the body of the document, we find that both are very similar. So I think that the document is in the handwriting of this person.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 340.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 350-351.

⁴ ناحیہ neighbourhood, surrounding country.

⁵ Munshi Newul Kishore's text of 1875, p. 299, ll. 4-5.

fortress of Surat and its neighbourhood, were confided to the trust of Kalij Mahâmad Khân, who has great distinction in honour and dignity.

This original passage of the Tabakât-i-Akbari shows, that the full name of the officer was the same as that which the document gives, and that he was placed in charge not only of Surat, but of its neighbourhood, of which Naôsâri forms a part. The Tabakât-i-Akbari speaks of him as the jûgirdâr of Surat.

"When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarât, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men . . . once more raised their heads. . . . Kalij Khân, who was jûgirdâr of the fort (Surat), made it secure and prepared for a siege."¹

In the events of the 23rd year of the reign, Elliot also gives his full name as Muhammad Kalij Khân.² Under the events of the 29th year of the reign, we still find him named as the "Jûgirdâr of Surat."³

(Document No. 10. Document assigning a *Wali* to Rana Jeshang.

રાણા જેસંગને એક વાડી ધર્મખાતે આપવા બાબતેના લેખ.)

૭૪૫ શી દાનનીખાતર બેહદીવાને...

સંવત ૧૫૭૬ છુતરા વર્ષે મા બહમન રોજ બહમન અદેહ^૧ શ્રી નાગમંડલ

કણે પાતશાહ શ્રી સુલતાન મજીદશાહ બજરાને અમલ મલક શ્રી ઈબ્રામ નસીર બ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રજાપતે લખતે શ્રી માણક ચાંગા વ^૬ આ.^૭ આસ-દીન મહેરવાન વ^૬ શ્રી ધૈયાં રાણાં વ^૬ શ્રી રાણાં જમાસ વ^૬ શ્રી આસા બહેરામ વ માણક બહેરામ વ^૬ આ. ખુરશેદ ચાચા વ^૬ બહેરામ સાગર વ સમસ્તલોક વ^૬ નૈયા રાણા વ ગા.^૮ મહેરવાન એવંદ રાણા જેસંગ જોગ્ય જત તાડ વ ભૂમી

¹ Elliot, V., p. 360.

² *Ibid.* p. 404.

³ *Ibid.* p. 434.

⁴ In the similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9) અબે *adhê*. Perhaps મેહરજી અધ્ય *i.e.*, "now, then" signifying "at the time".

⁵ For *dar*, *vide* document No. 9 p. 156 n. 1 બાશાદના જમતમી.

⁶ This word is Persian, *va* 'and' used for Gujarati 'અને' or 'તથા' used in the other similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9).

⁷ આ. doubtful, perhaps contracted form for અસ્તા Av. *ahvâ*.

⁸ આ. This seems to be a contracted form of a word like આ. for અંખીઆ પા. for પારમી, શ્રી for શ્રેષ્ઠ or શેઃ, એ. for એવંદ. Perhaps it is the contracted form of the Gujarati word ગોર or ગોરજી *i.e.*, a priest. It seems, that this word was at one time applied to Parsee priests by their laymen, because the word ગોરાજી is still sometimes used for a wife of a priest, who prepares sacred breads, &c., for the ritual. Perhaps the word ગોર was specially applied to those priests who prepared *daruns* or sacred breads and sacred food used in the ritual.

અનામ¹ તાડ ૧૦૦ તથા ભૂમી વીંધા ૧૦ દસ અંકે તાડ સુપ્ત² રહે. રાણા
જેસંગને સાલ પે સાલ પાલે³ તાડ વ ભૂમી ન માલા ખાચે⁴ સાલ ૫ સાલ
પાલે સમસ્ત બહેદીન મલી પાલે સહી એ વાત કલ⁵ કાવલ⁶ નહી દીવાનથી
પકાવે. સમસ્ત એક દીધરા⁷ થાઈ પલાવે.

૧ લખતં માણક ચાંગા

૧ લા. આસદીન બહેરવાન

૧ લખતં ધેઈયાં રાણા સેહા⁸

૧ લા. રાણા જામાસ⁹

૧ લખતં ખુરસેદ ચાચા

૧ લા. માણક બહેરામ

૧ લે. આશા બહેરામ

૧ લા. નઈઆ રાણા ધેઈઆં

૧ લખત. બેરામ સાગર

૧ લ. બહેરામ રાણા

Translation.

For the sake of religion, Bahadins.¹⁰

By the name of God.

In the year *Samvat* 1576 at the time of month (*māh*)
Bahman, day (*rōz*) Bahman, in Nāgmandal, in the time of the

¹ અનામની ભૂમી ફા. انعام. According to Badā'uni Inām-i-Zamīna, Inām-i-Dehlā were some of the terms used before the Moghuls. (Blochmann's *Ain-i Ākbari* I., p. 271.)

² સાવલી રહે P. مستم *sufta* 'gift.'

³ پالیدن to rear, educate: to purify. પાલવું. The meaning seems to be that they would see that it remains in the hand of Rana Jesang for the above religious purpose (દીની ખાતર) from year to year, free of taxes.

⁴ "ન માલા ખાચે" એટલે "ન માલે સાચવ" i.e., ફર વગર. I think it is the corrupted form of نر مال سايو i.e., without miscellaneous revenues, i.e., free of tax.

For the words مال માલ *māl*, and سايو *vide* above, p. 98.

⁵ کل *kāl*, trouble, injustice, a heavy burden.

⁶ Perhaps قول *qūmal* speakers. The meaning seems to be that "there should be no troubles and questions or inquiries in the matter."

⁷ یک دیگری uniting one with another, i.e., in concert with one another.

⁸ Or perhaps સેહ. An old copy of this document reads it સેહ.

The document seems to be in the handwriting of this man, because on comparing the names of the signatories, as written in the body of the document, with their own signatures at the bottom of the document, we find, that in the case of all signatories, their names and signatures differ a little in style and form, but in the case of this રાણા જામાસ Rānā Jāmās they resemble a good deal.

¹⁰ Doubtful. Perhaps for بر دیوانی i.e., civil matter.

victorious¹ rulership of Padshâh Sultân Muzaḡḡar Shâh,² in the rule of king Ibrâḡm Naḡir,² the ruler of the trading and all mixed communities. Writers Manock Chângâ,³ and Âsḡin Meherwân and Dhayân Rânâ and Rânâ Jamâs and Âsâ Baḡerâm and Manock Baḡerâm and Khurshed Châchâ and Baḡerâm Sâḡar and the whole of the community and Naiyâ Rânâ and Meherwan.⁴ To Ervad Rânâ Jesang. To wit, palm-trees and Inâm land, 100 palm trees and 10 *bigâhs* of land may be given. It (*i.e.*, the land) shall be kept with Rânâ Jesang free of taxes from year to year. The palm trees and the land shall be maintained free of taxes from year to year. All the laymen together shall maintain it free of taxes. There shall be no trouble and bother about it. It shall be kept free from the civil authorities. All uniting one with another shall maintain it free.

(Signed)—

Manock Chângâ
Âsḡin Meherwân
Dhayân Rana
Rânâ Jamâs

¹ વિક્રમ વાજ, *vaj* is the same as વીજ meaning 'victorious.'

² *Vide* below, p. 161 for this personage.

³ For notes on some of the words of this document, *vide* the footnotes under the Gujarati document, p. 158-59.

⁴ This man seems to have been popularly known as ગો. મેહરવાન Go or Gor Meherwan, but his real name seems to be બેહરામ રાણા Behrâm Rânâ, because he puts down his signature as such. There are ten persons named in the body of the document and these ten persons sign the document. In the signatures the order is changed a little. The first four signatories sign in the order of their names in the document. Then the fifth signatory ખોરસેદ ધાચા Khoorsed Châchâ is the seventh in the order of the names in the document, and the eighth signatory આસા બેહરામ Âsâ Behrâm is the fifth in the body of the document. Then the eighth and ninth persons બેહરામ સઘાર Behrâm Sâḡar and નેયા રાણા Naiyâ Rânâ in the document similarly change places as signatories. Naiyâ Rânâ signs seventh as નેયા રાણા ધાચા Naiyâ Rana Dhayân. Then the tenth or the last person on the list ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwân signs as બેહરામ રાણા Behrâm Rânâ. This shows then that ગો. મેહરવાન Go Meherwan must be his popular name, while his real name was Behrâm Rana. Again, we find that the writer seems to have first intended to close his list with the 8th person Behrâm Sâḡar because he has put after this name the words સમસ્તો: *i.e.*, "and all the community or all the people," but after writing these words he has added the above two names of the ninth and tenth signatories.

Khurshed Châchâ
 Manock Baherâm
 Naiyâ Rânâ Dhaiyân
 Asa Behrâm
 Berâm Sâgar
 Baherâm Rânâ

The king (Padabâh) Sultan Muza'ffar Shâh referred to in this document of *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A. D.) is the Sultan Muhammad Muza'ffar of Gujarât. He is one of the five Mahomedan kings, referred to by Bâbar in his *Tuzak-i-Bâbari*, as ruling in India when he conquered the country. He says, "At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulmân kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Râîs* and *Râjâs* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose Government included the capital. . . . The second prince was Sultân Muhammad Muza'ffar in Gujarât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultân Ibrâhim's¹ defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadîs* (or traditions)."² He is known in history,³ as Muza'ffar II. He reigned in Gujarât for 15 years from A.D. 1511 (917 Hijri) to 1526.

The king ઉબ્રામ નસીર Ibhrâm Naçir seems to be Ibrâhim Lodi.

(Document No. 11. દીવ લખેલો કાગળ. *The letter to Diu wherein Dastur Meherji Rânû is referred to as the leading priest.*)

૧. અ.^૧ કાકા શ્રુત^૨ આસદીન બહેદીન દોવના સમસ્ત કે બ^૩ પહાના એ એજદાં બાદ જત બ^૪ ચાંદિ કયામદીન હુ લીએ^૫ અગ્યારી માહે અલ્લો જ (ન)

¹ Ibrahim Lodi whom he defeated in 1526 in the battle of Pânipat.

² Elliot IV. p. 259.

³ Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, by Cowell, p. 765.

⁴ Contracted from લખતો એવીઆર.

⁵ A son. Kaka's son Asdin કાકાનો ડોકરો આસદીન. આસદીનકાકા.

⁶ Looks like ન but it is 'બ.' Compare it with the first letter in the word નરશનુષ in l. 6 of the original بینا ک یزدان باد

⁷ Doubtful. Perhaps બે.

⁸ Doubtful. Perhaps જત એ ચાંદિ કયામદીન હુ લીએ (એલ્લે મારી સાથે)

ચાર બેઠા હતા તેહાં એમ કહિઉ જે દીવનાં સમસ્ત બહેદીને કહ્યું જે એક હેવંદ બરીનુમ સુ¹ આંહાં આવે તે બાજ ધણું તા. ગેહેસારણું કરે અભારાં મુઆની નિમત² આફગાન કરે તેહેની અહમો જેહે વાહુ³ તેહેવી તેહેની તતબુ⁴ કહું તે વાત કીધા પર એ. શ્રી મહેરજી રાણાં નુએક શુડવી⁵ તાકીદ કરી દીનનાં કાંમ ચાલતાં કરવા મોકલઈઓ છે ખુબ છે લાએક છે ડાહ⁶ છે સાંસતુ⁷ છે જેહલુ આપણો દીને જોઈએ તેહવું છે. એહની તતબુ એહના ફેલ⁸ જોઇ કરજો સહી રો.⁹ ગુઆદ મા. આદર સંવત ૧૬૪૬ વર્ષ.

સમસ્ત બહેદીન નએ¹⁰ અભારૂં પનાહે અજદાં બાદ કતેબુ¹¹

Translation.

“Writer priest¹² Kākā's son Asdin. To all the Bahadins (*i.e.*, laymen) of Diu. May they be in the protection of God. To wit, two persons (*viz.*) Chanda Kiamdin with myself (*i.e.*, altogether), we four persons had sat together in the Agiāry (*i.e.*, fire-temple). There it was said that all the Bahadins of Diu have said that “a Herbad (*i.e.*, priest) with Barashnum,¹³ may come here, that he may perform the Bāj and Gehsārna¹⁴ ceremony, that he may perform the Afringān ceremony, for the repose of our dead, and that we will continue,¹⁵ him as you will fix.” On these words being said

¹ સુધા.

² نِیمَت *nimat* sleep, slumber (peace) મુઆની સાની માટે or for نیت *niyat* ۱۳۳۱ intention.

³ ? راجیدن *to collect, to pick out.* જે સુકરર હાય. Or it can be read જેવા બુદ (for બુદ) doubtful.

⁴ P. تتبع *searching diligently, continuation* ચાલુ રાખવો. જેવી *i.e.* જેવી રીતે થતે તેવી રીતે.

⁵ Doubtful reading, *vide* p. 163, n. 1.

⁶ For ડાહ્યો wise. મોનેદ મારો છે, લાયક છે, ડાહ્યો છે, મતનો છે.

⁷ شایسته *shāyeste* worthy, fit. Or perhaps ‘patient’ as in પીરો સામનો.

⁸ فعل *work.* એનાં કામ જોઇ એની નોકરી ચાલુ રાખનાં.

⁹ روز *روز*

¹⁰ نیت *niyat*, aiming at, intention. ۱۳۳۱, માટે, or towards.

¹¹ of the کاتب *i.e.*, the writer. અથવા લખનારની યજ્ઞ પનાદ બાદ.

¹² આ. Contraction of અંધારૂં *andhiāroo, i.e.*, priest.

¹³ *i.e.*, an officiating priest who had gone through the Barashnum ceremony.

¹⁴ The funeral prayers to be recited near a dead body before its being removed to the Tower of Silence. The prayer recited is yaçna Chap. XXVIII to XXXIV.

¹⁵ If you read it તતબુ it is تتبع *tatabba*, searching diligently, continuation, or it may be corruption of તતબુ تنخواه *stipend*.

Ervad Meherji Rânâ agreed ¹ and has hastened to send (a priest) for carrying on religious rites (lit. affairs). He is a good, fit, wise, (and) worthy man. He is just what is required for our religion. Continue him (in your service) looking to his work. *Rôz Guâd mâh* Adar year *samvat* 1646. May our good wishes be for the protection of God upon all Behdius."

Having given above, copies of the documents referred to in the paper, I will now give here the colophons of some of the manuscripts, and extracts of letters, &c., referred to therein.

(Colophon of the old manuscript of 1792 A. D., which contains

Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 42.)

એ કેતાબ રાગ તા. કૃષ્ણ તા. ચંદ્રધાયનો કીશો વગેરે તમામ યાદ
શ્રી રોજ આખાં ઈજદ માહા મુબારક બહમન અમિશાશપંદ શને ૧૧૬૧૭ અ
બદલરદીનાં. ૧૮૪૮ આખાડ વદ ૧૩ શેમે તમાં કીધી. એ કેતાબને
લખાવનાર નેકનાંમ, નેક નઈએત, દીન દોશત, આલી હીમત, અશો પરવર,
રેશન તાલે બેહેદીન શ્રીજમશેદજી ગુરધમાં મકાંની કૂકાજી પેતે પોતાનાં મુતા-
લે ² તા. વાસુવા ખાદેશ કરી લખાવી શહી. એ કેતાબનો લખનાર કમતરીન
ખાકશાર મોખેદ જોદે મુખેદ બહેરામ વલદે માખેદ જીજી શૂરતનો રેહનારાએ
લખી શહી. એ કેતાબ જે કોઈ વાંચે તે બુલચુક દેએ તાંહાં શમારે શહી.³

(Tansen's song about Dastur Meherji Rânâ—*vide* above, p. 42,

copied from f. 81b. of the above old manuscript.)

(એ રાગ શારંગ છે બપોરના ગાએ)

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પદે શો કબૂલ,
ઈઆ ધણી પારશી પદે શો કબૂલ.
અગરકી પીઠ ચંદન લપેટેઉ.
જેશોઈ સૂખડ પેડ.
ઈઆહૂ પારશી પદે શો કબૂલ.

¹ Perhaps એક રૂદ લી તારીફ કરી. P. ایک شد و تارکید کرد એકમત થય અને તારીફ કીધી.

² مطالع reading, study, અભ્યાસ.

³ Colophon at the end, folio 237b—238. The book has in all 239 folios with 13 lines in a page. From folio 202 we have the story of Changragâcha, an Indian sage, who is said to have visited the Court of King Gushtâsp to discuss religious matters with Zoroaster. The writer calls his book "રાગ તા. કૃષ્ણ તા. ચંદ્રધાયનો કીશો" i.e., the book of songs and poems, and of the story of Changragâcha. For Changragâcha and for his visit, *vide* "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse, par M. Joachim Ménant" (1857), pp. 57, &c. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân, by Prof. Jackson, pp. 85—88.

સંખી સંખી દાહાડી શાહ મેહેરીઆર.

તેરી ખૂબપર બરશત નૂર.

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પહે શો કબૂલ.

કેહે તો મીરાં તાંન શંગ.

શૂનો શાહ અકબર.

ઈઆહી બહેશતો કે ફૂલ.

ઈઆહૂ પારશી પહે શો કબૂલ.

(*Translation of the song of Tansen.*)

Oh Lord!¹ the Parsee's prayer is accepted,

Oh Master! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

The back of *agar*² and sandalwood is put round it,

With it there is a piece of sandalwood.³

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Shâh Meheryâr!⁴ you have a long beard.

Glory rains over your face.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Miân Tansen says.

Oh King Akbar! hear me.

He is the flower of the paradise.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

¹ YÂ-hû, i.e., Oh God—*Vide* Blochmann's *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 170. "His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names *Yâ hu* and *Yâ hadi*." The word here seems to be originally *Ahu* (Avesta *ahy*), and it is applied in Persian even to kings. The song being transcribed in Gujrati, its language and orthography may not be quite correct. ² *Agar* (aloe wood) is a kind of fragrant twig.

³ The meaning of this second distich is not quite clear, but it seems to tell how the Parsee Meheryâr (another proper form of Meherji) referred to in the song said his prayers, placing fragrant wood and twigs in the fire.

⁴ For the word Shâh, *vide* above, p. 156, n. 4.

(Mahārājā Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore's letter, about Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 44.)

Hara Kumara Bhabana,
Pathuria Ghata Raj Bati,
Calcutta, 6th February 1902.

To

J. JAMSHEDJI MODI, Esqre.,

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion, so far as my humble belief goes, that the song which you had sent me as Tansen's is, as I already wired to you, his. Though the language is not that in which he ordinarily composed his songs, yet from the construction and general style of the piece, the song affords internal evidence of being the composition of that great singer. The piece, I understand, is sung in the Sāranga Ragini, and if this tune has been traditionally handed down, this is another proof of the piece being Tansen's, for *Darliāri Kāndārā* and Sāranga are known to have been his favourite Raginis.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SOURENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Mus. Doc. Ozon.

Extracts from letters of Drs. West, Gelāner and Mills, with reference to the alleged ignorance of the Parsees of Gujrāt in the 16th Century—vide above, p. 52.

Dr. West says : —

"I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper Cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coincide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree, Junior, and J. O. E.¹

"Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujerat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the

¹ Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's letters to the *Bombay Gazette*, in its issues of 24th August, 30th and 31st October, 5th November and 7th December 1896. His letter in the issue of 5th November 1896 is worth studying. Therein he has produced a number of instances as evidence to show that "even in those ages, supposed to be so dark, there were Parsees possessing a knowledge, not only of Sanscrit, but of Zend and Pahlavi"—*vide* below, p. 167, for his views on the general charge of ignorance,

Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking, these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

"One of the Iranian Scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows :—

"For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*magar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nausari, Kambay, Broach, Surat, and Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing." But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian. This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujarati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

"With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayet Collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

"If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of

Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

"The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare manuscripts from Iran." (Extract from Dr. West's letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.)

Dr. Geldner says:—

" . . . It may be that such Dastur lived in the obscure corner of Gujerat. With Brahmins and Jews also, it is also often the case that the real traditional knowledge lived on in corners. In certain Indian Dastur families the knowledge of Pahlavi must have remained traditional. Where otherwise—to mention only one—would the venerable Dastur Hoshangji in Poona, the teacher of the Europeans, have acquired his knowledge of the Pahlavi? Consequently a learned Pahlavi scholar was very well able to explain the doctrines of Zoroaster to the great Mogul in a convincing manner.

"The Revayets, too, do not always treat elementary subjects, but often some with very important questions. cf. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXVII., pp. 419, &c. They frequently give the authoritative decisions of the learned Dasturs in Iran.

"It is reported that Jāmāsp brought the Farvardin Yasht to India in 1721, which was said to have been lost there. This loss can only refer to certain congregations and not to the Parsees of India in general. The fact is that this Yasht existed in India at that time in several copies, and partly in a better state than the Persian MS. gave, but it was possibly kept secret by the owners." (Extract from Dr. Geldner's letter, dated Berlin, 25th August 1898, to Mr. Mancherji P. Kutar.)

Prof. S. H. Hodiwala says:—

" . . . Every scholar in fact knows that Pahlavi and Pazand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are comparatively numerous. May

we not ask the meanings of these facts? May we not ask why so many of these copies were taken at Navsari? May we not ask why these copies should have been so carefully multiplied, if the ignorance in Gujerat was so universal that no one, whether priest or layman, could read or understand them? Perhaps, it will be said that merely copying manuscripts requires no knowledge of the language on the part of the scribe. This is certainly not strictly true; but even if it were, what can be the object of having work copied if nobody can make any use of them? . . . Besides the colophons of many of these transcripts contain express statements as to their having been made by priests for their own use—a fact which certainly militates against this theory of universal ignorance. But this is not all. We have something more than mere copies of the sacred texts. . . . These efforts were really the earliest manifestations of a kind of literary activity whose ampler fruits we possess in the works of Hormuzdyar and his son Darab, of Rustam Peshotan, and many others in the next century” (Extract from a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* in its issue of 5th November 1896).

Dr. Mills says:—

“. . . . A highly intelligent traditional knowledge existed among Parsi priests at the time of Akbar, and before and after. And Akbar would certainly not have been so foolish as to get a Parsi who knew nothing to inform him.” (Extract from Dr. Mills’ letter, dated 119, Essex Road, Oxford, May 25, 1893, to Mr. Mancherji Palooji Kutar.)

(Colophons of Pazend and Persian manuscripts written by Rânâ Jesang, the father, and Kaikobâd, the son, of Dastur Meherji Rana, *vide* above, p. 68.)

I have come across three old Pazend and Persian manuscript books which tend to show that the family of Dastur Meherji Rana was a learned family. They had that amount of learning which one may expect in those times from learned priests. Besides Gujrâti the language of their country, and Avesta, the language of their scriptures, they knew Pazend and Persian languages.

The first old manuscript that I want to draw attention to, is an old manuscript of the Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana. It belongs to the first Dastur

Meherji Rana Library of Naasari.¹ I give below the colophon in Persian given at the end of the book. It gives its date as *roz Meher, mah Ardibehešt*, year 873 Yazdajardi (1560 *Samvat*), i.e., 1504 A.D.

(Colophon of the manuscript of the Pazend *Jamâspi* written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana.)

تمام شد این کتاب جاماسپی من دین بنده از کمترین خاک رویان
 رالن بن هرید جیسنگ بن هرید دادا بن هرید جیسنگ بن هرید موبد
 بن هرید قیام دین بن هرید موبد بن هرید کامدین بن هرید زرتشت بن
 موبد موبزدیار بن هرید رامیار از نسبه دیر زهوشنی هرید کروا بن
 بیکیچور هروجی نوشتم از جهت دانشی نو فرہنگیانرا و کوفہ و خشنوی
 بہدینانرا تن دوستی دیر زیشنی ایو پہ گیتی اشو پہ مینوی روانرا
 گروہ زمانی باد روز مہروماہ اردبہشت سال ہشتاد و نہ ہندوی سال

संवत् १५६० वर्षे रोज महिर मा. अर्दबिहस्त पारसी संवत् ८७६
 वर्षे.

Translation.

Completed. I am the writer of *Jamâspi*, I a servant of the religion from the humblest of the dust-faced,² I Rana, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kayâmdin, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kâmdin, son of Herbad Zartusht, son of Mobad Harmaždyâr, son of Herbad Râmyâr. I have written it from a copy of Herbad Karvâ (may he live long), son of Bikajiv of Broach, for the knowledge of new preceptors and for the increase of righteousness of the Behdins (i.e., the Zoroastrians). May there be health of body, long life, i.e., in this physical world, may they be righteous, (and) in the spiritual world may their souls attain paradise. *Roz Meher, mah Ardibehešt* year eight hundred and seventy-three. In Indian year *Samvat* 1560 *roz Meher, mah Ardibehešt*, Parsee era 873.

¹ *Vide* the catalogue of the library published in 1894, Gujrati list of Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian manuscripts, p. 62, manuscript No. 9.

² One may take it as *miswritten* for کتاب and complete the sentence at the next word *جاماسپی*, but the sentence must be completed with the words تمام شد ³ For either Bhicâji or Vicâji.

⁴ *Khâk-rubân*. It may be *khâk-rubân*. A term of humility, an equivalent of خاکسار

The manuscript is written in Pazend and the colophon in Persian. This shows that Rana Jesang knew languages other than the language of the country, the Gujrati.

The next manuscript written by Rana Jesang is that of the Bahman-nameh.¹ It belongs to Mr. Minocherjee Burjorjee Pavree. It has 378 folios, i.e., 756 pages, with 18 couplets in a page.² Its colophon at the end, giving the name of the writer and its date, runs thus:—

تمام شد این کتاب بهمن نامہ ایوپنتو ایواشہی³ تمام شد این داستان
شاه بہمن بن اسفندیار شاه ملوک ایران بیزدان کام باد فرچید پدرود
شادی و رامشنی و دیوزوشنی من دین بندہ کاتب الحروف ہیربد ران
بن ہیربد جیسنگ بن ہیربد دادا از گور موبد ہورمزیار ہیربد رامیار
اندر قصبہ نوساری در عہد محمدود شاه سلطان بن لطیف خان
برادرزادہ بہادر شاه سلطان بروز آستان و ماہ آدر سال نہصد پانزدہ
از تاریخ ایزدزد شہریار و شہود سنہ خمسہ خمین تسع ماہ و ہندی
سال صموت سول چود و تہ

Translation.

This book of Bahman Nâmah is finished. There is only one path which is that of virtue (or piety).

This narrative of king Bahman, the son of Asfandyar, the king of the kings of Irân, is finished. May it be according to the wish of God. Finished with good wishes, joy and pleasure and long life. I a servant of the religion, the writer of these writings (am) Herbad Ranâ, the son of Herbad Jesang, the son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mobed Hormazyâr, (son of) Herbed Râmyâr, in the city

¹ Le Livre des Rois par M. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVIII.

² This gives (756 × 13 =) 9828 couplets or distiches. M. Mohl says: "Le Bahman-nameh contient à peu près dix mille distiques." *Ibid.*

³ It is the first line, written in Persian characters, of the following Avesta proverb, which is found at the end of several old Parsee manuscripts.

سومہ سول چود و تہ

سومہ سول چود و تہ

i.e., there is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths. The Pahlavi rendering of it is:—

سومہ سول چود و تہ

سومہ سول چود و تہ

of Naosari, in the time of Mahmūd Shāh¹ Satān bin (i.e., son of) Latif Khān, the nephew of Bahādur Shāh Sultan, on day Āstād and month Ādar, year nine hundred and fifteen, of the era of Yazdagird Sheheryār. Friday,² year 955 (Hijri),³ Hindi year *Samvat* sixteen hundred and two.

The third manuscript I wish to refer to, is an old manuscript of the Persian *Darāb-nameh*,⁴ belonging to Mr. Māhiar Nowroji Kutār. The manuscript is dated 1025 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1656). It appears from this manuscript that Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of the Persian *Darāb-nāme* from the library of king Akbar. Dastur Kaikobad's own manuscript is not to be found, but the old manuscript of 1656 notes the fact.⁵ It is a MS. of 266 folios with 25 lines in a page.

The following lines in the colophon narrate the way in which the manuscript came to be written :—

تمت تمام ہذا کتاب دارابنامہ در سنہ الف شہر شعبان یوم
یکشنبہ بقاریخ سیوم وقت فجر بخط بشوتن ابن فریدون لقب ارویسگان
در قصبہ نوساری تحریر یافت فرجید بدرود و شادی و رامشنی
روز رشن ما مہر مبارک سال اور یکہزار و بیست و پنج از شہنشاہ
یزدگرد شہریار از نغمہ سامان ابن ادرشیر ابن اسفندیار ابن
کشامپ نوشتہ شد

श्रीमं नृप विक्रमार्के समयातीत सवत १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७८ प्रवर्त्तमाने उत्तरा
यन गते श्री सूर्ये सन्मागल्य परदे परम पद् पवित्र जेष्ठ मासे शुक्लपक्षे पंचमी तीथौ
रविवासरे पुष्य नक्षत्रे ध्रुव योगे बवकरणे एवं पंचांग शुधौ रविर्गते वर्षे राशौ

¹ This Mahmūd Shāh was Mahmūd III. of Gujrāt, who reigned for 16 years from 1538 A.D. (944 Hijri) to 1553-54 (961 Hijri). Elphinstone says on this point, "Bahādurshāh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmūd, the son of Latif Khān." (Elphinstone's History of India, Fifth edition, by Cowell (1866).

² شہود *shuhūd*, Friday.

³ ما *tisa* 'nine.' تسع *tisa* 'five.' خمسين *khamis* 'five.' So the whole number is, 5+50+9×100=955.

⁴ Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxiv.

⁵ The following lines in the colophon give the date of the manuscript :—

فرجید بدرود و شادی و رامشنی روز رشن ما مہر مبارک سال اور
یک ہزار و بیست و پنج از شہنشاہ یزدگرد شہریار

चंद्र गते कर्क राशौ एवं शुद्ध श्री वाराणसः पुस्तकं लिखितं करेहून् हृत पेषुतं
न लिखितं समाह।⁽¹⁾

چون این کتاب جان افزا در بلاد هند و فیر غریب است
از آتش کم کسی بدیده و ازین مشکین نقاب دلربا مشام اهل آثار
و خطا بوئی نشنیده در اکثر امصار و بلدان انرا هیچ کسی نداشته
و لیافتم مگر بکتاب خانۀ شریف حضرت بادشاه..... جلال الدلیا
والدین محمد اکبر بادشاه فازی خلدالله تعالی ملکہ ابدًا بنظر اندر
آمد و چون اشتیاق این کتاب نادر مقبول خاطر بجناب مکرمت آیاب ...
سعادت دثار مقصراہل فارس یعنی نوشیروان ابن بہمن شاه بارسى
ساکن قصبہ فوساری طول عمرہ وزاد قدرہ فوق السعد بود بنوشتن
اشارت ارزانی فرمود بنابر حکم ایشان اقلالعباد کیقباد ابن
مہیار بارسى کمر خدعتکاری بر میان جان استوار کردہ سعی تمام و
کوشش لاکلام بجای آورده تا از روی آن منقول فریب مسودہ شکستہ
بسمت تحریر یافتہ بود و ازان مسودہ... خواجگی حیر و رضی اللہ عنہ
بخط عبدالرحمان در برکنہ ہا نسوت رقم کزائیدہ بود بس آن کتاب بدست
مرزا بن مرزا محمد زمان آمدہ ازان مسودہ این کتاب تحریر یافت
بخط بشوئن برای خود (Folio 266 a, l. 20.)

Translation.

"Finished this¹ book of Dārāb-nāmeḥ in the year one thousand

¹ I give below the correct rendering of the Sanskrit in modern Gujrati types, and its translation as kindly done for me by a friend. My English translation is rendered from the Gujrati version.

श्रीमान् १५ वीकमासं समयातीत संवत् १७१२ वर्षे शाके १५७८ प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायण गते श्रीसूर्ये सन्
श्रावण मासे ५२२ ५६ पवित्र नक्षत्रे शुक्ल पक्षे पंचमी तीथौ रविवारे पुष्य नक्षत्रे शुभ योगे जल
करके अक्ष पंचांग शुद्धौ रवौ गते वृषराशौ चंद्रगते कर्क राशौ अक्ष शुद्धम् श्री वाराणसम् पुस्तकम् लि-
खितम् करेहून् हृत पेषुतान् लिखितम् शम्.

अथ.

श्रीमान् राजा वीकमासना समयने १७१२ वर्षे गया त्यारे, अने शादीयाना शाक १५७८ सालतुं
हंतुं त्यारे, अने सूर्य उत्तरायणमा हता त्यारे, साया मंगलने आपनार प्रजा पवित्र नक्षत्र ५ रविवार
पुष्य नक्षत्र, शुभयोग, जलकरके, हता. अ प्रमाळे पंचांग शुद्धौ हती त्यारे रवी वृषराश्यानी हती
पक्ष कर्क राश्यानी हती, त्यारे आ वाराणसामु पुस्तक करेहूना पुत्र पेषुतने लब्ध. शुभभावा.

¹ I give hazā.

. . . .¹ in month Shâbân,² on day Sunday, on the 30th day at the time of morning. Written by the hand of Beshôtan,³ son of Faridun surnamed Arvisgâhân,⁴ in the town of Naosari. Finished with good wishes, joy, and pleasure. Written on the day-Rashna, auspicious month Meher, year 1025 of king Yazdagard Sheheryâr of the line of descent of Sâsân, the son of Ardeshir, son of Asfandyâr, son of Gushtâsp.

In the year 1712 of the glorious king Vikramark, in the year 1578 of Sâlivân era, when the sun was in the winter solstice, on the true auspicious holy day *Jeth Shûd* 5 Sunday, *Pushya nakshatra*,⁵ *Dhruva yôga*,⁶ *Bav Karana*.⁷ When the positions of the heavenly bodies, according to the calendar, were in these proper positions, the sun was in the Taurus and the moon in the Cancer. It was then that this book of Dârâb-nâmeh was written by Peshutan, the son of Faridun. May it be auspicious.

¹ There is a gap which the writer seems to have thought of filling up later on. The number of the year in Arabic words cannot be written at once by a Parsee without a reference to books. This seems to be the cause of this gap.

² The / Arabic month.

³ Sam Peshôtan.

⁴ ارويسگاه *arwisgâh* is the place where the Parsee priests perform the ceremony of Yaçna, Vendidad, &c. The writer seems to have taken his surname from this word, because perhaps he belonged to the class of priests who performed those ceremonies. It is not all the priests who perform these ceremonies. He seems to have taken this surname just as others even nowadays take their surnames, such as Mobedji or Dastur from their work or profession. I find from a manuscript Persian book (ride colophon of the tract *چند ابيات در باب رحمت گويد*) on miscellaneous subjects belonging to Mr. M. B. Unwala written in 1012 Yazdwardi that Arvisgâhân was used as a surname. In this manuscript, the writer gives his name as *بريد زاده بريد جمشيد بن مهرنوشي لقب ارويسگاهان*. The manuscript begins with Persian couplets under the heading

اندر گفت سي وسر امشاسفند

⁵ The 8th lunar mansion.

⁶ Polar junction.

⁷ *Karana* "is a division of the day in astrology. These *Karanas* are eleven."

1 . . . As this soul-reviving book is rare in the cities of India, etc., one has seen very little of it, and as (even) the people of Tâtâr and Khatâ have not smelt the perfume of this heart-ravishing musky veil, (and) as nobody got it or acquired it in most of the great cities and towns, but it was seen in the library of His Majesty the noble king,² . . . the splendour of the country and of religion Mahomed Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi, the exalted of the great God, of the everlasting royalty, and as the desire of having this rare book was dear to the heart of a great man possessing generosity . . .³ clothed⁴ with happiness, glorious among the people of Pars (the Parsees), viz., Noshirwan,⁵ the son of Baman Shâh, a Parsee inhabitant of the town of Naosari, who was (a man) of excellent glory,⁶ and unlimited⁷ innate power,⁸ he ordered⁹ it to be written. So according to his order, his obedient servant¹⁰ Kaikobâd bin Mahiyâr, Parsee, tying the belt of service strongly on the waist of his life, tried his best and endeavoured a good deal, so that from the copy of the abovesaid rare manuscript eaten by worms (lit. torn by moth *matta* مٹم) he wrote a copy correctly.¹⁰ And from that copy

¹ A portion of the page being spoilt, a word here is not legible.

² The portions omitted are in the praise of the book and of the king and they do not give any further particulars about the history of the manuscript.

³ دٲر upper garment.

⁴ He seems to be the great grandson of the well-known Chângâshâh of Naosari. His father is called Bahman Shâh. Shâh seems to be the appellation or title of honour by which his father Mânock and his grandfather Chângâ were known as Mânock Shâh and Chângâ Shâh. Shâh is a common term of respect. They say it is even now used in Afghanistan. Among the Bhâtîâs, a sect of the Hindus, it is generally used before a name in place of 'Mr.' It appears that this family took an interest in the ancient literature of their fatherland. We learn from the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) that Bahaman Mânock, the father of this Noshirwan and Mânock Chângâ his grandfather, had got the Virâf-nameh rendered into Persian verse by one Kâus Fariborz bin Nowroz from Yeazd.

⁵ طول excellent, long, and عمة crown, tiara.

⁶ فوق الحد *fauqu 'l-hadd*, beyond measure.

⁷ زاد born and قة power, strength.

⁸ ارزانی فرمودن to order, اشارت sign, signal.

⁹ اقل least. عباد *ibâd*, servant, holyman, devotee.

¹⁰ سميت Finding the right way.

Khajagi Hapu—may God pardon¹ him—got a copy made by the hand of Abdul Rahmân in the *paraynah* of Hansôt.² Then³ the book having come into the hand of Mirzâ bin Mirza Mahammad Zamân, this book was written from that manuscript by the hand of Peshutan for himself.

It appears from the colophon of this old Persian manuscript that Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of this book from the library of king Akbar. It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobâd in honour of Jehangier and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shâh-Jehan), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jehangier also. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that Kaikobâd was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of Dastur Meherji Rana's life:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazdâ-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1553	922	.....	.....	{ In the Revâyet known as Kâus Kâmdin's Revâyet, Dastur Meherji Rana's name is mentioned first in the address (<i>vide</i> p. 64 of this paper).
1566	.....	1622	.....	{ In an agreement about the proper performance of religious ceremonies, his signature stands first (<i>vide</i> p. 62).
1570	.....	1626	.....	{ In an agreement to abstain from the drink of <i>toddy</i> , while engaged in certain rituals, he signs first (<i>vide</i> pp. 62-63).
1570	.....	.....	.....	{ In a letter from Persia brought by Faredun Murzban, and given in the Revâyet his name is mentioned first (<i>vide</i> pp. 63-64).

¹ lit. May God be contented (*râzi*) with his faults (منت)

² A town near Broach.

³ پس for پس

Date.				EVENTS.
A.D.	Yasda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1578	1629	.....	{ By an agreement by the laymen of Naosari, land in a place known as Pipalia-wadi, is given to him as the head of the community for religious purposes (<i>vide</i> p. 65).
1578	986	{ Badaoni mentions under the events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari priests to the court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a past event, so he must have gone there either this year or the year before (<i>vide</i> pp. 9-12).
1579	1635	.....	{ The date of the first document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of him as their head (<i>vide</i> p. 46).
1580	1636	.....	{ The date of the second document to the same effect (<i>vide</i> p. 46).
1590	1646	.....	{ The date of a letter to Diu, wherein he is referred to as the head (<i>vide</i> p. 48).
1591	960	.....	.....	Death.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, to show that Meherji Rana's family was a well-known family, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of the life of Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana:—

Date.				EVENTS.
A. D.	Yasda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1504	873	1560	.....	{ Rana Jesang wrote the manuscript of Pasend Jamaspi (<i>vide</i> p. 169).
1520	.....	1576	.....	{ He was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes (<i>vide</i> pp. 65-66 of this paper).
1527	896	.....	.....	{ The date of Shapur Asa's Revayet, in which Rana Jesang is addressed first (<i>vide</i> pp. 66-68 of this paper).
1546	915	1602	955	{ The date of his manuscript of the Persian Bahman-nāmah (<i>vide</i> p. 170).

*Chronological List of Events in the life of Dastur Kaikobad,
the son of Dastur Meherji Rana.*

A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1565-66	1622	.....	Signs with his father and other priests the document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies, wherein his father signs at the top (<i>vide</i> pp. 151-52).
1570	1626	.....	Signs with his father an agreement to abstain from <i>toddy</i> while engaged in the Âtash Behrâm and other ceremonies.
1580	1636	.....	Signs with other priests the second document, acknowledging his father Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priesthood (<i>vide</i> pp. 149-50).
1591	He came to Dasturship on his father's death.
1595	1003	Akbar's first farmân in his name (<i>vide</i> p. 95).
.....	1005	The محضر <i>mahzar</i> for inquiry. Hijri 1005 (<i>vide</i> p. 141).
1603	1011	The second farmân (<i>vide</i> p. 121).
1603	1012	The Parwanchah (<i>vide</i> p. 134).
29-10-1619	12-12-988	.....	.....	Death.

ART. IX.—*The Shahee dialect of Arabic.* By LT.-COLONEL A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (*Retired*), M.R.A.S.

(Communicated, April 1902.)

The most northern extremity of the province of 'Oman, which consists of an almost triangular tract of land having for its base an imaginary line drawn from the seaport town of Dabá on the shores of the Gulf of 'Oman to Galeel near Rás-ul-Kheimá on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and for its apex Rás Masandam, may be considered in a dialectical point of view specially apart from the Batineh coast of 'Oman on the one hand and the Pirate coast in the Persian Gulf on the other. This mountainous and rocky tract called the Roos-ul-Jibál is inhabited by several tribes which go under the generic name of ash-Shahóoh, and speak a dialect of Arabic so totally different from that of their close neighbours on either side, as to deserve more than a passing notice.

Some of these tribes, as will be observed from their names, were evidently originally offshoots from the 'Omanee tribes, but by their long-continued residence among the Shahóoh, have now become thoroughly incorporated with the original inhabitants of the place, so that though they still retain their original tribal names, the language they speak is the common dialect of the place. Palgrave speaks of the inhabitants of Roos-ul-Jibál in general as "a strange set," and says in regard to their dialect that his Arab associate and guide Yoosuf called it "Lissan-ot-teyyoor," "bird's speech."¹ This latter remark is more particularly applicable to the language of one small tribe included in the generic name of Shahóoh, which speaks in addition to the dialect common to the place a peculiar and unintelligible dialect of its own. The Kamázareh, which is the name of this tribe, live principally at Khasab and Kamzár, and are ethnologically and dialectically distinct from the general Shahóoh group; and although the principal features of their dialect will be noticed at the end, the chief object of this paper is to show the main characteristics of the general Shahee dialect.

¹ Central and Eastern Arabia, Vol. II.

The Shaḥooḥ themselves claim to have descended from Málík bin Fahm, the first Azdee immigrant to 'Oman from Al-Yaman through Shaḥ bin Málík, as alleged by them, but history does not seem to favour such a claim, as Málík bin Fahm is not known to have had any son or direct descendant bearing a name which would give a clue to their tribal name. Sheikh 'Alee bin Muhammad, one of their learned men, however, on the strength of the general belief which obtains among them of their having originally come from Sabá (Shebá) in Al-Yaman, and of their being the descendants of a Málík, suggests that they are most probably the descendants of Shajeej (شجيج) bin 'Adee bin Málík bin Zeid bin Sahl bin 'Amr Seifee bin Subá the younger bin Ka'b, &c.¹, and that their name Shaḥooḥ (شحوح, *sinj.* Shaḥee شحي) is most probably derived from Shaḥeeḥ, a corruption of Shajeej. This explanation, interesting as it is in a dialectical point of view, as an instance of the conversion of ج into ح, with the great tendency of the Shaḥee dialect, and for that matter to a certain extent of many of the modern dialects of Arabic, to an interchange of letters and abbreviation of words, appears to be a plausible one also, though it seems difficult to believe that the Shaḥooḥ could have thus abbreviated the name of their original ancestor from Shaḥeeḥ to Shaḥ by eliding the last syllable of it.

Whatever may have been their exact origin, there appears to be a strong presumption for the belief that they have descended from some of the original immigrants from Al-Yaman and that having been isolated in some manner from the 'Omanee and other surrounding tribes, they have retained in some respects the features of the dialect they brought with them, and in other respects developed features which are foreign to Arabic, perhaps through constant intercourse with the inhabitants of the Persian coast. It is, however, certain that the legendary explanation of their origin as given by themselves cannot be maintained in the case of the Kamázareh whose dialectical peculiarities and physical features betray a foreign origin.

As is the case with the 'Omanee tribes which are classed under the two great political factions — the Hináwee and Gáfree — the Shaḥooḥ are also divided into two great political divisions, — the

¹ According to the genealogy as given in Vol. II. of *العقد الفريد* of Shihab-ud-deen Ahmad al-Andalusí under the head of the genealogy of the Arabs.

Beni Shiteir and Beni Hidiyyeh. The following are the tribes at present included in the Shaḥool group :—

Beni Shiteir.

Al-Kamázareh
 Beni Murreh
 Al-Kiyasheh
 Beni al-Aṣam
 Ahal Leemeh
 Al-Khanābileh
 Ahal Salḥad
 Al-Mahābeeb
 Al-Muḳādīleh
 Beni al-'Urwah
 Beni Jum'ah bin Sá'id
 Ahal Sh'am
 Aḍ Ḍahoorieen (in alliance with the Kamázareh)
 Ahal Maḳám (half)

Beni Hidiyyeh.

Beni Sa'eed
 Beni 'Alee
 Al-Khanázireh
 Beni Hamm* Sálím
 Al-Haboos
 Beni Judeid
 Ash-Shirádineh
 Beni Zubboh
 Beni Kamál
 Beni Hamm* 'Abeid
 Ahal Maḳám (half)

Of all these tribes, the tribe of Beni Sa'eed, though numerically a small one, consisting as it does now of only about thirty or forty men, is politically by far the most important one, as it is the only tribe believed to represent the original Shaḥool, and therefore to possess the right of furnishing the general Sheikh for the Shaḥool group.

Hamm stands for Muḥammad in this dialect.

The principal places on the coast occupied by these tribes are Dabá, Leemeh, Kamzár, Khaṣab, Kadá, al-Jaree, al-Jádee, Bukhá, Faḡá, Gamdá, Teebát, Sha'm, Galeeleh and Khore Khuweir.

The dialect of Arabic spoken by these tribes, as might be expected, has a strong affinity to the 'Ománee dialect, but both the alphabetical and etymological variations from it are so many that to enumerate them all would be beyond the scope of a paper of this kind. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to such of the prominent variations as give to the Shahee dialect its peculiar character and value.

As in the 'Ománee dialect the initial *l* is sometimes altogether elided, but whilst in the 'Ománee dialect it is often substituted by either *و* or *ز*, in this dialect the letter substituted for it is invariably *ف*, a characteristic of the Yamánee dialect; thus *أَيْنَ* (*where*) becomes *فَيْنَ* or *فَيْنَ* in the 'Ománee dialect and *فَيْنَ* in the Shahee dialect. The letter *hamzeh* sometimes becomes converted into *ز* and itself and *l* often serve as substitutes for *ع*, thus instead of *شُرُوب*, (*a shower of rain*), *وَأَيْ شَهْبُوب* (Om. *awake*) and *بَعْجَل* (*quickly*), we have *وَأَيْ شَهْبُوب* and *بَاجَل*

The letter *ث* is invariably substituted by *ت*, thus *كُوب* (*cloth*) *نُقِلَ* (he *pressed* in this dialect), *وُقِيَ* (he *closed* in this dialect) and *بُحِتَ* (he *dug*) become *تُوب*, *تُقِلَ*, *وُقِيَ* and *بُحِتَ*

The letters *ج*, *ح* and *خ* are interchangeable as in some other modern dialects of Arabic.

ذ often takes the place of *ز* and is sometimes substituted for *ز*, thus in *ذُول* (*tame* in this dialect) the *ذ* evidently stands for *ز*, and in *ابودقدح* (*a rainbow* in this dialect) for *ز*.

The sound of the letter *ر* when medial or final is one of the most remarkable features of this dialect, showing as it does a great tendency to assimilating it to the sound of the letter *ز* in the Indian languages, which tendency reaches its acme in the Kamzárree dialect. Thus, the words *طُورَف*, *خُبِرَف*, *فُزِب* &c., are pronounced as if they were written as *طُذِف*, *خُذِب*, *فُذِب* &c. As an initial letter it

takes the place of غ and ل in رِبْطَة (Om. غِبْطَة = *mud*) and رُقْط (لُقْط = *he picked*); and in مَتَجَل (a *cauldron*) the ن evidently stands for the ر of the standard Arabic word مَرْجَل.

The Beni Hamm 'Abeid invariably pronounce the letter ش as س, and the latter letter often takes the place of ص in this dialect.

Initial ع generally becomes ا and medial ع becomes ي, or hamzeh; thus بَاجِل (quickly), أَم (a master as of a slave), نَيْل (a *hoe*) اَرْبَعَة (four), سَبْعَة (seven), اَشْرَة (ten), stand for بَعْجَل, عَم, اَرْبَعَة, نَعْل, اَرْبَعَة, عَشْرَة and سَبْعَة.

The letter غ is sometimes converted into ر or ل, as in رِبْطَة or لِبْطَة (*mud*), which is a corruption of غِبْطَة. It is sometimes altogether elided as in the imperfect tense of the verb بَغِيَ (he *wanted*); thus, هَوَمَاتَبَا (ho-má-tabá = *what do you want?*). It may, however, be here noted that the Shahee women generally pronounce the غ distinctly in expressions like the above one, and that it is mostly elided by the men.

The letter ي is sometimes converted into ج; thus, يَابِس (dry, *arid*) becomes جَابِس. In the 'Ománee dialect, on the contrary, ج sometimes becomes ي.

Beside these important alphabetical variations, the reader will be able to detect others of a minor importance in the vocabulary given at the end.

The etymological peculiarities of this dialect are numerous and often vary among the different tribes, so that it is difficult to deduce from them any rules which would include all of them. The most important variations from the standard and 'Ománee dialects only will therefore be here noticed, so as to give a general idea of the dialectical features.

The most remarkable variation as regards number is, that the dual number is often expressed by the plural form of the noun with

the word **تَئِينَ** (*two*) added to it, and that when the regular dual form is used the word **تَئِينَ** is still used with it; thus, **تَئِينَ سَكِينَيْنِ** (*two knives*). Similarly the plural number is often preceded by the word **هُبْشِي** (*many, much*) or followed by **وَيِيد** (*many, much*), which is evidently done to give emphasis to the sense; thus, **هُبْشِي سَكَاكِينِ** (*knives*), **وَيِيد قَلَامَة** (*pens*).

The following are some of the forms of the broken plurals of trilateral nouns, both masculine and feminine, in common use:—

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>	<i>Plural measure.</i>
طَحْف (a gal:)	طَحُوف	فُعُول
لَحْم (a shark)	لَحُوم	
مَعْرَقَة (a throat)	مُعَارِق	مُفَاعِل
حَبَّة (a kiss)	حَبُون	فُعُول
قَطْوَة (a cat)	قُطُو	فُعُل
بَدَبَة (a present)	بُدُب	
قَمَاطَة (a centipede)	قَمَامِيط	فُعَاعِيل
مَسْقَب (a club)	مَسَاقِب	مُفَاعِل
مَنْوَرَة (a courtyard)	مَنْار	فُعَال
صَبِيْبَة (a fastness)	صَبِيب	فُعَل
بَدَايَة (a potter)	بَدَايَة	فُعَالَة
تَوْب (a shirt)	تَوَاب	فُعَال
شَخْط (a lucifer-match)	شَخَاط	
كُذَّة (a sleeve)	كُذَان	فُعَال
جُفْرَة (a pit)	جُفَار	فُعَال

The regular plurals of both the masculine and feminine nouns are formed in the usual way, but in the case of the latter there is a great tendency to treat them as irregular nouns.

The vowel of the Diminutive is invariably *kasreh* as in the 'Ománee dialect; thus, كَلْبٌ (a small dog), جَبَلٌ (a small mountain), &c. It may be here observed that a word indicative of the diminutive nature of the thing expressed is sometimes added, evidently for the sake of conveying a clear meaning as in the case of the dual and plural numbers, thus صِنْدُوقٌ شِشُونَ (a small box).

The separate personal pronouns are as follow, though their pronunciation differs a little amongst the different tribes:—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
3rd P.	{ Masc. هُوَ or هَا (hoh). { Fem. هِيَ (hey).	{ Com. genl. هُمْ or هِم { أَنْتُمْ or أَنْتَو { اُنَّ
2nd P.	{ Masc. أَنْتَ { Fem. أَنْتِ or أَنْتِي	
1st P.	Com. genl. أَنَا, أَوْأ, or أَوْن	Com. genl. حُنَيْنٌ

The dual is formed as in the case of nouns by the addition of the word ثَيْنٌ (two) to the plural number, thus أَنْتَوْنِ ثَيْنٌ (you two).

The affixed possessive pronouns are the same as in standard Arabic, with a slight variation in their pronunciation, but in addition to them the separate pronouns are also used, as is sometimes the case in the 'Ománee dialect; thus كِتَابِي أَنَا (my book), كِتَابُكَ أَنْتَ (thy book), كِتَابُهُ هُوَ (his book), كِتَابُهَا هِيَ &c. The first personal plural affix, however, among some of the tribes is نُو; thus كِتَابُنُو حُنَيْنٌ (our book).

The Demonstrative Pronouns are:—

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>This</i>	{ Masc. هَؤُور, هَؤُور, or هَؤُور { Fem. هَؤُور	Com. genl. هَؤُور or هَؤُور

Singular.		Plural.	
That	Masc. هَدَوَكْ or دَوَكْ	Com. gend.	هَدِينَا or هَدِينِي
	Fem. هَدِيكْ		

The *Haḍar* generally substitute *ḍ* for *ḏ* in the demonstrative pronouns as in many other words containing the latter letter.

The Relative Pronoun is اَلَّذِي, being the same in both the genders and both the numbers.

The Interrogative Pronoun *what* is expressed by هَوْم and *who* by مَن; thus هَوْم دَو (what is this?)

The Cardinal numerals are :—

One	...	...	...	وَاحِي	Seven	...	...	...	سَبْعَة
Two	...	...	...	تَنِي or تَيْن	Eight	...	...	...	ثَمَانِيَة
Three	...	...	...	ثَلَاث	Nine	...	...	...	تِسْعَة
Four	...	...	...	أَرْبَا or أَرْبَعَة	Ten	...	...	...	أَشْرَة
Five	...	...	...	خَمْس	Eleven	...	...	...	حَدَاشَر
Six	...	...	...	سِت	Twenty	...	...	...	إِشْرِينَ
					Hundred	...	...	...	إِمْدَة

The Ordinal numerals are expressed as رَابَا , ثَالْت , ثَانِي , حَادِي , خَامْس &c., &c.

The months of the year, with the exception of the four months Rabe'a al-Awwal, Rabe'a al-Ākhir, Jumáda-al-Awwal and Jumádá al-Ākhir, which together are called اَرْبَاعَة اَلْمَوَالِيد, are the same as in standard Arabic. Rabe'a al-Awal is called مَوْلُودُ الْاَوَّل or اَوَّل مَوْلُود, Rabe'a al-Ākhir مَوْلُودُ الثَّانِي or ثَانِي مَوْلُود, Jumádá al-Awwal رَابَا مَوْلُود or ثَالْت مَوْلُود and Jumádá al-Ākhir رَابَا مَوْلُود or ثَالْت مَوْلُود. Ramaḍán is called either رَمَضَان or رَمَبَان مَوْلُود.

Considering the general nature of the dialect which varies even among the different tribes of which the Shaḥooh group is composed, the variations to which the verb is subject in its inflexion ought not to excite any surprise. Although the model of inflexion is the same throughout the whole dialect, it is evident that two distinct forms known principally by the sound of the final vowel of the verb in the preterite tense can be recognised; for instance, in the third person plural the final *l* is not only omitted, but the consonant preceding the final *و* takes among some tribes a *fatḥeh*, and among others a *ḍammeh*; thus كُتِبُوا (*they wrote*) in the standard Arabic is either كُتِبُو (*katbu*) or كُتِبُوا (*katbu*) in this dialect; so also in the second person plural both the standard form with the final syllable تُمْ and a form with نُونَ as the final syllable are used; thus, *you wrote* would be expressed either as كُتِبْتُمْ or كُنْتُمْ. In the first person plural, too, the final pronominal affix is either تَ or نَ thus كُنْتُمْ or كُنْتُمْ (*we wrote*). Similarly in the first person singular the pronominal affix ت is either pronounced sharply or prolonged into تُو; thus كُتِبْتُ or كُتِبْتُ (*katabto = I wrote*). As the Shaḥooh are in the habit of expressing the separate pronoun in addition to the pronominal affix, the distinction in sense between the first person singular with the sharp sound of ت and the second person singular is easily made out. The medial letter of a trilateral verb in the preterite generally bears a *fatḥeh*.

The vowel of the medial radical in the aorist in the case of regular trilateral verbs is mostly a *fatḥeh*, in which respect and also in regard to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, this dialect differs strongly from the 'Omānee dialect; thus يَضْرِبُ (*he strikes*), يَكْتُبُ (*he writes*) of the 'Omānee dialect are يَضْرِبُ and يَكْتُبُ in this dialect. In the 'Omānee dialect the vowel of the pronominal prefix is generally determined by the vowel of the medial radical, but this rule does not seem to hold good in this dialect, in which the pronominal prefix of the second person, sometimes in the singular number only and sometimes in both the numbers, takes a *kasreh*; thus يَكْتُبُ (*he writes*), تَكْتُبُ (*thou writest*), تَكْتُبُونَ (*you write*), يُجْلِسُ (*he sits*), تُجْلِسُ (*thou sittest*)

and ^{نَجِّلْ} (*you sit*), would be in the 'Ománee dialect ^{يَكْتَبْ}, ^{يَكْتَبْ}, ^{نَجِّلْ}, and ^{نَجِّلْ}.

The vowel of the imperative in the case of trilateral verbs is mostly a *kasreh*; thus ^{اَكْتُبْ} (*write thou*) and ^{اَجْلِسْ} (*sit thou*). In the plural the final *i* is generally omitted and the *و*, which is then the final letter, takes the sound of *o* or *oo*; thus ^{فَرِّبُو} (*darbo* or *darboo* = *strike ye*).

To illustrate these points, the following paradigms of the principal forms of verbs are here given, so that the reader may at a glance be able to notice the verbal peculiarities of this dialect:—

^{كَتَبَ} (*he wrote*).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. ^{كَتَبَ}	^{كَتَبَتْ}	{ ^{كَتَبُوا} (<i>katlo</i>) or ^{كَتَبُو} (<i>katbaw</i>).
2nd P. ^{كَتَبْتَ}	^{كَتَبْتِ} or ^{كَتَبْتِي}	^{كَتَبْتُمْ} or ^{كَتَبْتُون}
Com. gender.		
1st P. ^{كَتَبْتُ} or ^{كَتَبْتُو}		^{كَتَبْنَا} or ^{كَتَبْنِ}

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. ^{يَكْتُبُ}	^{يَكْتُبُ} or ^{تَكْتُبُ}	^{يَكْتُبُونَ}
2nd P. ^{تَكْتُبُ}	^{تَكْتُبِينَ} or ^{تَكْتُبِي}	
Com. gender.		
1st P. ^{اَكْتُبُ}		^{اَكْتُبْ}

Imperative.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. ^{اَكْتُبْ}	^{اَكْتُبِي}	^{اَكْتُبُوا} (<i>kitboo</i>) or ^{اَكْتُبُو} (<i>kitbaw</i>).

ركب (*he mounted*).*Preterite.*

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. ركب ^{١٢١}	ركبت ^{١٢١}	ركبو ^{١٢١} (<i>rakbo</i>) or ركبوا ^{١٢١} (<i>ral'aw</i>).
2nd P. ركبت ^{١٢١}	ركبتين ^{١٢١} or ركبتي ^{١٢١}	ركبتون ^{١٢١} or ركبتم ^{١٢١}
Com. gender.		
1st P. ركبت ^{١٢١}		ركبت ^{١٢١} or ركبنا ^{١٢١}

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يركب ^{١٢١}	تركب ^{١٢١}	يركبون ^{١٢١}
2nd P. تركب ^{١٢١}	تركبين ^{١٢١} or تركبي ^{١٢١}	تركبون ^{١٢١}
Com. gender.		
1st P. اركب ^{١٢١}		تركب ^{١٢١}

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. اركب ^{١٢١}	ركبي ^{١٢١}	ركبو ^{١٢١} (<i>rikboo</i>) or ركبوا ^{١٢١} (<i>rikbaw</i>).

جلس (*he sat*).*Preterite.*

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. جلس ^{١٢١}	جلست ^{١٢١} or جلست ^{١٢١}	جلسوا ^{١٢١} (<i>jalsaw</i>) or جلسو ^{١٢١} (<i>jalsu</i>).
2nd P. جلست ^{١٢١}	جلستين ^{١٢١} or جلستي ^{١٢١}	جلستون ^{١٢١} or جلستم ^{١٢١}
Com. gender.		
1st P. جلست ^{١٢١}		جلست ^{١٢١} or جلسنا ^{١٢١}

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. يُجَلِّسُ	تُجَلِّسُ	يُجَلِّسُونَ
2nd P. تُجَلِّسُ	تُجَلِّسِينَ or تُجَلِّسِي	تُجَلِّسُونَ
Com. gender.		
1st P. أَجَلِّسُ		نُجَلِّسُ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. اجْلِسْ or جلس	اجْلِسِي	اجْلِسُوا (jilsoc) or اجْلِسُوا (jilsaw).

رَدَّ (he returned).

Preterite.

Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. رَدَّ	رَدَّتْ	رَدُّوا (radlilo) or رَدُّوا (radlaw).
2nd P. رَدَّتْ	رَدَّتِينَ or رَدَّتِي	رَدَّتُمْ
Com. gender.		
1st P. رَدَّيْتُ		رَدَّيْنَا or رَدَّيْنَا

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. يُرَدُّ	تُرَدُّ	يُرَدُّونَ
2nd P. تُرَدُّ	تُرَدِّينَ or تُرَدِِّي	تُرَدُّونَ
Com. gender.		
1st P. أُرَدُّ		نُرَدُّ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	
2nd P. ارْدِ	ارْدِي or ارْدِي	ارْدُوا (radlilo) or ارْدُوا (radlaw).

جِي (he came).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. جِي or جِي	جَت	جُو
2nd P. جِيَت	جِيِنِي or جِيِنِي	جِيِنُون or جِيِنُم
Com. gender.		جِيِن or جِيِنَا
1st P.	جِيَت	

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. يَجِي	تَجِي	يَجُون
2nd P. تَجِي	تَجِيِن	تَجُون
Com. gender.		
1st P.	يَجِي	يَجِي

There being no imperative from the same root, the word نُؤِي or نُؤِي as a substitute for نُؤَال is employed as such.

The following are some of the variations in the Particles, &c., in use :—

When? is expressed by مَتِي instead of مَتِي *Where?* is expressed by فِين instead of أَيْن *Why?* is expressed by لَم instead of لِمَا and also by لَوِش instead of لَيْش. Also is expressed by اَيْضَا and also by بَاد which evidently stands for بَعْد. كُل (each, every) is changed into كُل, and here is expressed by هُنُو, هُنُو, or تَرُو (اونا ترو = I am here) and there by هُنُو.

Able (to be)	فَلَانٌ مَا يَلْبَرُ. يَلْبَرُ or يَعْبَرُ. —أَبَرُ—عَبَرُ يُخْدَم = such a one is not able to work)
Afraid (to be)	زَحَاقٌ —خُفِيفٌ
Allowance (pay)	فُرَايِضَةٌ pl. فُرَايِضُ ('Om. فُرَيْضَةٌ)
Also	بَادُ (ا stands for ع).
Ankle	جَوَازِي pl. جَوَازَةٌ
Anus	تَقَابُ pl. تَقَبَةٌ (ث for ث).
Aqueduct (small)	مَذِي pl. مَذِيَّات
Arbitrate v. i.	يَسْلَفُ aor. سَلَفَ
Arbitrator	سَوَالِف pl. سَالِفَةٌ
Arid (as land)	شَارَةٌ
Asleep	غَيْقُلُ (This word is used only by some of the tribes, but the words most commonly used are نَائِمٌ , غَافِي and نَيْعَاسُ) فَلَانٌ غَيْقُلٌ لَا تَوَكُّيَةٌ = such a one is asleep, do not wake him up.
Auction v. t. (to sell by auction).	يُدَّالُ aor. دَلَّ
Awake <i>ad.</i>	وَيْعَانُ and وَاَعِي also وَاِي
Awaken v. t.	وَيْعُ also وَاِي
Axe	طَبَارَةٌ pl. طَبَارُ (P. تَبَرُ)
Axe (Battle-)	جُرُوزُ pl. جُرَزُ (P. كُوزُ)
Bad	بُوطِلُ —بَاطِلُ
Bag (purse)	صَرَّةٌ pl. صَوَارُ
Baggage	اَوَيْدِزُ —حَوَايِجُ ('Om.).

Ball (cannon) ...	...	...	بَلُول pl. بَلُول (ب for ج or rather گ - 'Om. جَلُولَة).
Barber ...	...	...	مُصَلَّات pl. مُصَلَّات
Bastard ...	...	...	بُغُول pl. بُغُول ('Om.), also بَغْل pl. بُغُول
Bat ...	...	...	خُرَافِيش pl. خُرَافِيش
Bathe <i>v. i.</i> ...	...	...	يَنْبَرِد aor. يَنْبَرِد
Beautiful ...	...	...	خَلِيق — زِين
Beckon <i>v. i.</i> ..	...	...	لَهَا عَوْلِيدَه — لَهَا = he beckoned to me.
Bedstead ...	...	...	صُرُر pl. صُرُر — شَبْرِيدَه ('Om.)
Bet <i>v.</i> ...	...	...	يُزَامَط aor. يَاشِي aor. أَشَا
Bet <i>n.</i> ...	...	...	إم أَشَات (used both as sing. and pl.) — زَمَطَات pl. زَمَطَة
Big ...	...	...	كَبِير — ('Om. ا for ع)
Blister <i>n.</i> ...	...	...	شَكَكَات pl. شَكَكَات
Blotted (stained) ...	...	...	صَمِي
Body of troops ...	...	...	حُشُود pl. حُشُود
Boil <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	تَوَّر — يَحَر aor. حَر (ث for ت)
Boon (a gift as from a sultan).			شَفَائِي and شَفِيَّات pl. شَفِيَّة
Boulders ...	...	...	قَلَوِيع (There is no sing. from the same root, the sing. being مَلَوَاق and حَجَر)
Brackish (highly) ...	...	...	مَأْأَق — أَق = brackish water.
Brackish (slightly) ...	...	...	زَوِيل
Brain ...	...	...	مَخ

Brass	شَبِي (ي for ة)
Brazier... ..	مَوَاقِد pl. مَوَاقِد — هُنَادِيَج pl. هُنَادِيَج
Breakfast.	فُؤَيْلَات pl. فُؤَيْل
Breast	سِيَسَان pl. سُسوس
Broom	مُجَفَّات pl. مَجَفَّة
Button	قَسَمَات pl. قَسَمَة
Button-hole.	زُرُر pl. زُر
Calf (of the leg).	تُبَابِين pl. تَبَّانَه
Call, v. t.	فَلَان — يُزَاق aor. زَاق — يُصَيِّع aor. صَاح فَلَان = يُزَاقُنِي = such a one calls me. فَلَان = مُصَيَّوْح لَهُ = such a one is invited or called.
Camel (young male).	حُشَوِيْن or حُشَوِيُون pl. حُشُو
„ („ female).	حُشَوَات pl. حُشَوَة
Ca	قَحَافِي pl. قَحَفِيَة
Case (covering for a book).	بُكَائِيْن pl. بُكِيْنَه
Case (covering for a gun)	مَلَابِس pl. لَبَسَة
Cask... ..	بَيْبَة pl. بَيْب
Cat	قَطُو pl. قَطْرَة
Cataract (disease)	مَرْقُوت pl. مَرْق
Cauldron	مَنْجَل pl. مَنَاجِل (ر for ن)
Cavern	مُؤَيَّت and مَوَات pl. مَوْت
Centipede	قَمَامِيْط pl. قَمَاطَة

Cheek	...	...	خُر pl. خُرَار (ر for د)
Chicken	...	...	مُفَاصِيف pl. مَفَصُوف
Choke, v. (with a solid thing.)			اَزْدَنْط
Choke, v. (with a liquid)			اِسْتَرْف
Close, v. i. (shut)	...	...	وَلَقَّ البَيْب (ث for ت) يُولَقُ aor. وَلَقَّ close the door.
Club	...	...	مُسَقَب pl. مَسَاقِب ('Om. قَب).
Collide, v. i.	...	...	دُمَا — دُمِع
Collision	...	...	مُدَامَعَة pl. مَدَامَعَة ('Om. مَدَامَعَة).
Commander	...	...	مُدَارِب pl. مَدْرُوب
Confusion	...	...	غَبَة
Corner	...	...	رَقْدَة pl. رَقُود (ق for ك and د for و).
Counterfeit	...	...	بَاطِل
Court-yard	...	...	مُؤَابَاط pl. صَابَاط and سَفَار pl. سَفَرَة (س for ص).
Coward...	...	...	جُبُون pl. جُبُونِين
Cradle	...	...	مَنَازَة pl. مَنَازُ
„ (made of midribs of palm leaves).			شَيْبَة pl. شَيْب
Crowd, v. i.	...	...	الذَّيْس مَقْرُوضِين) — تَقْوَض = the people are crowded.)
Crowd, n.	...	...	قَوِض pl. قَوِض
Cultivator (gardener)	...	...	خُدِيدِيم pl. خُدِيم — بِيَادِير pl. بِيَادَار
Deep	...	...	غَزِير ('Om. غَزِير)

Descend	...	...	يَسْقُطُ aor. — يَقْطُمُ aor. قَطَمَ
Desert, <i>n</i>	...	...	بِيدُوْح pl. بَيْدَحْ — (Om.) سَيْحْ (س for ب)
Dig	...	...	بُحَتْ (ث for ت)
Dirt	...	...
Dirty	...	...	قَنْزٌ — مَيِّ
Donkey	...	...	مُصْرِي (Om.) also حَمِير pl. حُمُور
Drive, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	نَقَدَ
Drunkard	..	...	دَوَّاح and دَوَّحَان
Effects (furniture, &c.)			أَوْيِيز pl. آزَة — حَمَال
Elude, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يُغَاوِز aor. فَاوِز
Embrace, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يُحَبِّبُ aor. حَبَّ — يَصَارِعُ aor. صَارَعَ
Embrace, <i>n.</i>	...	...	مُحَبِّبَة
Empty	...	...	خَلِي
Expedition (military)...			سَيْرَة
Explode, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يَتَوَرُّ (ث for ت) aor. تَار
Extinguish	...	...	قَتَلَ
Fade	...	...	ضَمِر
Fleeces	...	...	حُرَّان (ح for خ)
Fall, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يُطَقُّ aor. طَقَّ
Famine	...	...	فُلَى
Fastness (stronghold)...			صَيْب pl. صَيْبَة
Fear, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	زَهَقَ
Fill, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يَزُخُّ aor. زَخَّ

Fish (small)	بُوت (coll.) (This name is applied to all the smaller kinds of fish excepting the sardine, which is called زَيْنَب. ح for ب.)
Flay, v. t. (to skin) ...	صَلَح (ص for س and ح for خ).
Flee, v. i. (to run away)	فَلَّسَ فَيَضُ = such a one has run away.
Flower, n.	شَجَرَةُ بَيْرِيَّة (col. noun). بَرَم = a tree in flower.
Fold, n. (a pen for goats, &c.)	زُرُوب pl. زَرْب
Fox	تَالِب pl. تَلِيلِب (ث for ت and ا for ع)
Frog	شَفَرْدَغ (coll.)
Furniture	أَوِيذُ — سِيْمَان
Gag, v. t.	فَلَع
Gale	طُحُوف pl. طُحْف
Gecko	نَابُوت pl. نَابَة (ن) (ثَغْبَة) pl. نَعْبَة
Girdle	حِزَامَات pl. حِزَامَة
Go, v. t.	يَلْحِي aor. لَحِي
Goat	غَلَم (coll. ل for ن) — شَيْه (no pl. from this root)
Gradually	بُصَارَة
Grinder (tooth) ...	لُهي pl. لُهَة
Gum (of the tooth) ...	أَمْرَالُضْرُوس pl. أَمْرَالُضْرُوس
Hastily... ..	نُوءَ بَاجِل — بَاجِل
Hide, v. t.	كَمَل (ل for ن)
Hold, v. t.	بَشْ

Hollow	نَفَخَ — (ف for خ) مَجْرُوحٌ
„ (in the head, having no brains).	بَذَبُو
Infant	شَوَيْتَيْنِي pl. شَوَيْتَيْنِ — شَتُونَيْنِ pl. شَتُونِ (‘Om. تَتُونِ)
Inquire... ..	دَوَّرَ
Instalment	تُرُوم pl. تُرُوم
Invite	يُصَبِّحُ ل. صَاحَ ل. aor.
Joke, v. i.	فُلَانٌ يَتَكَلَّمُ بِكَ (لَكَ) — لَكَ شُكْرٌ (jokes with you.)
Jump, v. i.	حَوَّلَ — قَحَصَ (the latter is more a Bada-wee word).
Kernel	لُبَّةٌ
Kiss, v. t.	حَبَّ
„ (another’s hand)	حَابَبَ (‘Om. خَابَرَ)
„ (a woman) ...	قَبَّلَ
Kiss, n.	حَبُّون pl. حَبَّةٌ
Knuckle (of a finger) ...	كُتُوبٌ عَالٌ صَوَابِلُهُ pl. كُتُبٌ مَالٌ صَبْلُهُ (hamzeh for ع)
Languid (from fever, &c.).	مُتَكَبِّلٌ
Last night	لَيْلَةُ أَمْسٍ
Lizard	حَلَكٌ (pronounced as <i>halack</i>) pl. حَلَكَاتٌ
Loan	أَيْرَات pl. أَيْرَةٌ (ع for ا)
Lobster... ..	خَيْلُ الْبَحْرِ
Low (opposite of high)	هَادِي

Lurk	لُكَل
Man	أَوَيْدَم pl. أَيْدَم — رِجَال ('Om.) pl. رُجَال
Many	وَيْد — قَوْض — هَبْشِي
Master (as of a slave) ...	أَم pl. اَعْمَوِيَّة (ا for ع)
Mat (made of grass) ...	حَصْر pl. حَصِير
„ (made of date-palm leaves).	قُرُوش pl. قُرْش
„ (small)	سَجَادَة pl. سَجَائِد (A small mat. even though not intended for praying upon, is so named).
Match, n. (lucifer) ...	شَخَاط pl. شَخَط
Milk	مَرْيَح — حَالِب
„ (sour)	مُخَض
„ (freshly curdled)	رَتِي (Prepared by milking fresh milk over sour milk.)
„ (curd)	رُوب
Mortar (iron, for pounding).	رَشِيد — رِشْدَة pl. رِشَاد — مَنَاحِيز pl. مَنَحَاز
„	مَرَاشِيد pl.
„ (wooden „ „)	مَوَاكَا — مَوَاكَا pl. مَوَاكَا — مَوَقْعَة
„ (large, wooden)	جَوَانَة and جَوَانَات pl. جُون
Moss	خَل
Mouse (rat)	أَصْل pl. أَضَالَة (ا for ع)
Mouth	مَضَاحِك pl. مَضْصَك — حَلُوق pl. حَلَق
	(the latter is a Badawee word.)

Move, v. i. (aside, out of the way).	اُدْحَو
Much	جَوْبَه — مُبْشِي (the latter is Baduwee.)
Mud (clean)	غَيْل pl. فَيْلَة
„ (dirty)	رِبْط pl. رِبْطَة
Naked	اَيْرَد — صَلَخ
Neutral	طَايِعُ بَيْنِ الْخَصْمَيْنِ
Nipple	نَوَام pl. نَوَمَة
Noise (low)	هَوْرَة
„ (loud)	عَيْتَة
Nonsense	خَوَطٌ عَوَط
Nothing	شَيْلُو
Opacity (of the eye) ...	طَيْرَة
Open, v. t.	هَدَا الْبَيْتَ — هَدَا — طَلَقَ = open the door.
Oyster (of the pearl-shell).	بَلْبِل
Pass, v. i.	طَاى
Pebbles..	دَحَى — بَطْع (the latter word is applied to very small pebbles.)
Penis	زَبْ pl. زَبَوْب and زَبَا
Pestle (iron)	رَشَادَات pl. رَشَاد
„ (stone)	سَفَانَا pl. سَفْن
Pick, v. t.	رَقَط (ل for ر)
Picnic	نَطْمُوشَة — جَشَتْ
Plaster, v. t. (as a wall)	يُرَاغ aor. رَاغ

Plaster, <i>n.</i> (of a wall) ...	رَوَّان — رَوَّان
„ (medicinal) ...	حَوْقَة (ح for ل)
Plough	هَيْس pl. هَيْسَات ('Om.)
Pod	قُب pl. قُبُوب
Potter	بَنَّا pl. بَنَّا and بَنَّا
Prawn	رَبَّان (coll.)
Prepare, <i>v. t.</i>	زَهَب
Present, <i>n.</i>	نَدَب pl. نَدَبَة
Pull down, <i>v. t.</i> (to demolish).	هَدَم — تَقَنَّف — دَمُور
Pull off, <i>v. t.</i> (as clothes)	صَلَح — صَلَح
Rainbow	ابوقدح — تقصيح
Ripe	بَالِغ
Room (space)	نَسَم
Room, to make	نَسَم
Round	كَنْوِيلَة
Row, <i>n.</i> (disturbance) ...	جَوْلَة — هَجَلَة
Sand (on the sea-beach)	دَارِج
„ (mixed with pebbles in a valley).	دَحِي
Savage	فَارِي
Shallow	ضَاحِي — غَافِي
Shark	لُخَام and لُخُوم pl. لُخَم
Shave, <i>v. t.</i>	صَلَع — Badawee word
Shirt (male)	قَبِيص pl. قَبَا and قَبَا pl. قَبَا
	قَمَصَان and قَمَص

Shirt (female) ...	...	...	قُنْدُورَةٌ pl. قُنَادِيرُ
Shoe (male) ...	...	...	نُكْلَةٌ pl. نُكَلٌ
„ (female) ...	...	...	مُدَّةٌ pl. مَدَدٌ — مَدَدٌ pl. مَدَدِي
Show, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	رَوَى
„ <i>v. t.</i> (to point out)	...	...	خَبَّرَ
Shower (light)...	...	...	شُهَابِيْبٌ pl. شُهَابُوْبٌ
„ (heavy)...	...	...	خُرَيْفَاتٌ pl. خُرَيْفٌ
Sickle ...	...	...	دَس (pronounced as <i>dose</i>) — دَاسٌ pl. of both
Sleeve ...	...	...	دِيَانٌ
Sleeve ...	...	...	قَنَّةٌ pl. قَنَانٌ — كَنَّةٌ pl. كَنَانٌ
Solid ..	...	...	صَمٌ — صِطٌ
Soot ...	...	...	سَمَرٌ — سَمَرٌ
Spacious ...	...	...	سَعِيْمٌ
Sparrow ...	...	...	صَفَاصِيْفٌ pl. صَفَصُوفٌ (the same word is used for a chicken).
Spoon ...	...	...	كُفَشٌ pl. كُفَشَةٌ — قُفَشٌ pl. قُفَشَةٌ
Stare (angrily) ...	...	...	بَلَقَ بِالْعَيْنِ
Stick, <i>v. i.</i> (as a thing in the throat).	...	...	شَارَ
Stick <i>n.</i> (walking, with a curved handle).	...	...	عُكْفٌ pl. عُكْفَةٌ — اُكْفٌ pl. اُكْفَةٌ
Stifle, <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	يَرْزُطُ aor. زُطٌ
Stir, <i>v. t.</i> (as fire) ...	...	...	حَيَّ
Stout ...	...	...	اُقَارٌ pl. اُقَادِرُ or عَقِيرُ
Strike <i>v. t.</i> ...	...	...	ضَرَبَ
„ <i>v. t.</i> (with a stick).	...	...	لَفَعَ

Stumble, v. i. ...	...	...	أَلْفَرُ and أَعْفَرُ — اِنْكَبْ
„ n. ...	...	...	أَثْرَةٌ and عُقْرَةٌ — كَبَّة
Sugar-cane ...	...	...	قَلَامَةٌ مَكْرُ pl. قَلَمُ مَكْرُ (the word is also pronounced as if spelt with ك)
Sugar-candy ...	...	...	تَبَابْ (P. ت for ن)
Sweat, n. (from heat) ...	...	...	حَرّ
„ n. (from fever) .	...	...	أَرْقُ and عَوْقُ
Sweep, v. t. ...	...	...	جَتْ
Sweepings ...	...	...	خَمَامْ
Swing ...	...	...	مَوَاجِحِينَ pl. مَرَجَّحَانَةٌ
Tame ...	...	...	دُولْ (ذ for د)
Tassel ...	...	...	رِيشْ pl. رِيشَةٌ
Tendril ...	...	...	خَيْطُ pl. خَيْطٌ
Thick ...	...	...	أَقِيرُ — عَقِيرُ
Throw, v. t. ...	...	...	يَقِيسُ aor. قَيْسُ
Tighten... ..	...	...	صَمَتْ
Tool ...	...	...	أَدَّةٌ pl. أَدَدٌ also عِدِيدٌ — also أَدَّةٌ pl. أَدَدٌ and أَدِيدٌ
Turbid ...	...	...	مَنْفَلَعٌ — قَلَعٌ
Vagina ...	...	...	مَكْوَاتٌ pl. مَكْوَةٌ also مَقْوَةٌ — أَمِيدِيَّتٌ pl. أَمَاتٌ
Wait ...	...	...	سُوفِنِي — أَوْقِنِي — سَوَى — وَقَفْ (for me.)
Whisper ...	...	...	فَجْوَةٌ

Widow	...	..	ثُرْكَة pl. ثُرُك
Wonder	...	...	إِدْيَة — إِيَه
Zigzag	...	...	مَلْطَاح — مَلْطَاحِس

Children's Language.

Although the Shaḥee and 'Omānee dialects differ from each other in so many respects, it is remarkable that after making a due allowance for the orthographical charges, a striking similarity is found to exist in the language of children in the two dialects.

Bad	...	..	أَخ	Fire	...	..	طَش
Beat, <i>v. t.</i>	...		فَح	Fish	...	...	بَح
Bread	...	...	بَدِي	Fowl	...		تَيْفَه
Breast	...	...	دَيْدِي	Goat	...	...	أَمْبَاع
Brother	...	...	دَادَة	Hot	...	...	طَش
Camel	..	...	عَنْ عَن	Leave (off), <i>v. t.</i>			كَخ
Cat	...	...	أَوِيَه	Meat	.	...	بَح
Clothes	...	...	بُوبُو	Mother	..	...	مَامَاء
Come, <i>v. i.</i>	...		تَوَه	Old woman	..		حَبْوَة
Cow	...	...	أُجُوح	Pain, <i>n.</i>	...	...	وَادَة
Dog	...	...	وَج	Pretty	...	...	أَح
Donkey	...	...	لَش	Sleep, <i>v. i.</i>	...	...	هَوَا
Fall, <i>v. i.</i>	...		وَه	Water	...	...	أَعْبُوَة
Father	...	.	بَابَاء				

A Note on the Kamázree Dialect.

Although the Kamázareh as a tribe are included in the Shaḥooh group, the language they make use of among themselves is so distinctly different from the Shaḥee dialect of Arabic, as to require here a special though superficial notice. The men in particular are generally conversant with the latter dialect which many of them make use of for inter-tribal communications, but the language they speak among themselves and in their domestic circles, has distinctive features of its own. This is as might be expected from the fact of the Kamázareh being ethnologically quite distinct from the other tribes constituting the general Shaḥooh group. Whilst the Shaḥee dialect is essentially based on Arabic, and is in some respects allied to the dialect of 'Omán, the preponderating element in the Kamázree dialect is of a non-semitic nature.

It would of course be beyond the scope of the present paper to deal with it in any but a very superficial manner, for beside being totally different from the Shaḥee dialect, it has hardly any connection with Arabic. A few of its conspicuous points and a small vocabulary would easily enable the reader to judge for himself the nature of the language on which it is based.

There is ample evidence in the general features and vocabulary of the dialect, to show that the Kamázareh or at least the main portion of that tribe must have originally come over from the opposite or Persian coast, and this conclusion can be upheld notwithstanding the fact that there exists among them a sub-tribe that claims to have immigrated from al-Bahreïn, which is quite possible on the assumption that the latter immigrated at a later date and were numerically so weak, as to become in time thoroughly incorporated with the previous immigrants and to lose all traces of their language. The Kamázareh are divided into three sub-tribes,—Beni 'Alee Zeid, the origin of which it is very difficult to trace, Beni 'Alee Hasan who claim to have descended from 'Abdullah bin Awd al-Mannáee and to have immigrated from Manán'ah in al-Bahreïn, and al-Mahádiyeh who admit having originally come from a place called Biyábool near Mináw on the Persian coast. The last one is considered to be the Baloochee branch of the tribe, and appears to be the one which has contributed mainly in forming the dialect.

As regards the origin of the name of the tribe, in the absence of any positive information, it is only fair to suppose that it is derived from the name of the place where the original immigrants settled on their arrival in the Shaḥooh country, which assumption is also warranted by the fact, that the subsequent additions to the tribe became incorporated with it under the same name.

Although the majority of the words, as may be seen from the list here given, are evidently of Persian origin, the influence of the Baloochee language, which itself is supposed to be derived from the old Persian, must not be overlooked, particularly as the main portion of the Kamázareh came from a tract which may be looked upon as the border-land between the Persian and Makrán coasts.

One of the great peculiarities of the Shaḥee dialect, namely, the tendency to pronounce the medial and final ر as a letter having the pronunciation of ذ is accentuated in the Kamázareh dialect which seems to have adopted it irrespective of the language from which the word is derived; thus اذَّٓبْ (for A. رطب = *fresh ripe dates*), and حذَّٓما (for P. خرما = *preserved dates*). This rule, however, does not seem to apply to all words, for in مارو from Persian (*head*) and نخرت from Arabic (*nose*), the original sound of ر is retained, whilst in some words the medial د also takes the sound of ذ as in دودِی from Persian (*smoke*).

Another great peculiarity of the dialect is that many of the nouns end in a quiescent و with the sound of o as in the English word *go*; thus, بردو (a *wall*), لیڈو (a *road*), کوشو (a *shoe*), &c. Some nouns, however, end in a quiescent ی with the sound of ai; thus, دودی (smoke), جملي (a *camel*), &c., but the quiescent ی is heard oftener at the end of adjectives than nouns; thus: ومني (asleep), شرم بوسي (ashamed). The cardinal numeral adjectives also end in quiescent ی up to fifty after which ذ takes the place of ی, as will be seen from the following table:—

One	اِكْبٰى	Twenty	بِئْسِ
Two	دُوْهِي	Thirty	سِتِّهِي
Three	سَرُوْهِي	Forty	چَهْلِي
Four	چَارِي	Fifty	پَنْجَهِي
Five	پَنْجِي	Sixty	شِسْتَا
Six	شِشْتِي	Seventy	هَفْتَا
Seven	هَفْتِي	Eighty	هَشْتَا
Eight	هَشْتِي	Ninety	نَوَا
Nine	لِيْهِي	Hundred	مِئَا
Ten	دِيْهِي	Two hundred	دُوْهِيَسْتَا
Eleven	يَاْزْدِيْهِي	Three hundred	سَلْسَا
Twelve	دَوَاْزْدِيْهِي	Thousand	هَازَرَا

The Personal Pronouns are :—

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
First P.	مِدِيْ	هَآءِ
Second P.	نُوْ	كُمَا
Third P.	اِيْه	يُكَآه

The days of the week are :—

Saturday	سَبْت	Wednesday	چار شَمْبَر
Sunday	وَحْد	Thursday	پانچ شَمْبَر
Monday	دو شَمْبَر	Friday	جُمَا
Tuesday	شَد شَمْبَر		

In the following list of words A. stands for Arabic, B. for Baloochee and P. for Persian :—

Abandon...	ایاۛ کاگرد — ويلي	Bat	... ..	A. — حنڤن
	ویل = Leave off this paper.	Beard	... ..	P. — رَشَو — ریشی
Able	... .. صالح زای سیف — زای	Beautiful	... ..	P. — جوانی
	= Salih is able to lift it.	Belly	... ..	P. — شکم
Ablution...	... .. چنځول چول — چودم	Big	... ..	P.B. — گیبی
Abuse	... .. دوشین صالح — دشمن	Bite v.	... ..	P. — خای
	دشمن = Salih abused me yesterday.	Branch	... ..	رکنی
Accompany	... .. حمد رفوة — رفوة	Breakfast	... ..	P. — ناشنا
	حمد = H a m a d accompanied Salih	Breast	... ..	P. — پستانی
Accurate (correct)	... .. تراستی	Bring (imp.)	... ..	P. — بیار
Afraid	... .. ترسیسی	Butter	... ..	A. — زبد
Always	... .. هر روزی	Butter (clarified).	... ..	P. — روغن
Ashamed	... .. شرم بوسی	Camel	... ..	A. — جملي
Asleep	... .. وستی	Cap	... ..	P. — کلبی
Awake	... .. مآ	Cat	... ..	P. B. — گریگو
Bad	... .. بنچی	Cheek	... ..	A. — خشی
Bag	... .. کیسی	Chest	... ..	P. — سینو
Basket (small)	... .. زنبیلو — P.A.	Child	... ..	B. — بچ
.. (large)	... .. عندا	Clean	... ..	P. — پاک
		Cloud	... ..	P. — نم
		Colour	... ..	P. — رنگ

Come (imp.)	..	بيو—P.	Hand	...	دست—P.
Date (fresh fruit.)		اڤـنب—A.	Head	...	سارو—P.
" (preserved fruit)		حڤما—P.	Heel	...	اكروپ—A.
Date-palm	.	مکو—P.	Hole	...	خبة—A.
Dirt	...	چڤم—P.	Inside	...	اندو—P.
Dog	...	سروکو—P.	Knife	...	کارو—P.
Donkey	..	خڤ—P.	Lip	...	لو—P.
Door	..	دورو—P.	Man	..	مردکو—P.
Drink v.	...	خور—P.	Many	...	خيلي—P.
Dry	...	اشکي—P.	Mouth	...	ماي—P.
Ear	..	گوشو—P.	Moon	...	میناو—P.
Eat v.	..	خور—P.	Mustache	..	شرین—A.
Egg	...	خایک—B. P.	Nail (finger)	...	نحو—P.
Empty	...	ریزک—P.	Neck	...	گردن—P.
Eye	...	چمو—P.	Nose	...	نخوت—A.
Eye-brow	...	خچب—A.	Nostril	...	خبة—A.
Finger	..	لیکت—P.	Pot (earthen)	...	دوگو—P.
Flower	...	بوکو—P.	" (Metallic)	...	کزانی—P.
Fool	..	دلبی—P.	Razor	...	سنگو—P.
Foot	...	پاو—P.	Red	...	سرخو—P.
Forehead	..	سندوة—P.	Road	...	تیڤو—P.
Fowl	...	مروي—P.	Sail	...	ورارو—A.
Fox	...	ریڤاو—P.	Shave (v)	...	سان—P.
Hair	..	موه—P.	Ship	...	جهاز—P.

Shirt ...	خانی	Tooth ...	دنانو-pl-دنان—P.
Shoe ...	پوشو—P.	Tree ...	شدرینو—A.
Shoulder ...	کامرو—P.	Understand ...	دانو—P.
Skin ...	پوسنو—P.	Vessel (sailing, small).	دادرو
Slave (male) ...	زنکو—P.	Waist-wrapper ...	جامخ—P.
„ (female) ...	زنکوزنکو—P.	Wall ...	بودو
Sleep (n.) ...	خوو—P.	Water ...	هائو—P.
Smoke (n.) ...	دودو—P.	Wave ...	برمو
Snake ..	مارو—P.	Well ...	چوو
Steamer ...	جهاز دودینو—P.	Went ...	رفت—P.
Stone ...	بددو—P.	White ...	سپیڈ—P.
Stout ...	منربی—P.	Whole (all) ...	همو—P.
Strong ...	سختی—P.	Wind ...	کولو
Sun ...	إنفاقو—P.	Window ...	دورخو—P.
Thigh ...	فخت—A.	Wise ...	دانا—P.
Thorn ...	خارو	Woman ...	زنکو—P.
To-day ...	ایه روزو—P.	Year ...	سالو—P.
To-morrow ...	نوا صاباح—P. & A.	Yesterday ...	دوشین—B.
Tongue ...	زوان—P.		

ART. X.—*The Coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat.*

By REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D.

[Communicated, May 1902.]

- I.—Historical Setting.
- II.—Chronological List of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- III.—Genealogical Table of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- IV.—Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
- V.—Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
- VI.—Mint-towns.
- VII.—Weights and Standards.
- VIII.—“Cumulative” Coin-legends.
- IX.—Catalogue of the Coins on Plates I—VI.

I.—HISTORICAL SETTING.

Authorities for the History of the Gujarāt Sultānat, A.H. 806-980 ; A.D. 1403-1573.

1. The *Tārīkh i Firishṭa* by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed *Firishṭa*, circa A.D. 1606-1611; translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, 4 vols., A.D. 1829.

2. The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, A.D. 1611; translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.*

3. The *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, A.D. 1756-1761;

(a) translated in James Bird's *History of Gujarāt*, A. D. 1835,

(b) also translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, A.D. 1886.

4. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part I., A.D. 1896, containing the History of Gujarāt, Musalmān Period, by Colonel J. W. Watson.

Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be employed:—

Br.-F.=Briggs's *Firishṭa*; Ba.-S=Bayley's *Mir'āt i Sikandarī*;

Bi.-A.=Bird's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*; Ba.-A=Bayley's *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*;

*A copy of the recently published complete translation of the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of this article.

W.-B.G. = Watson's History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer.

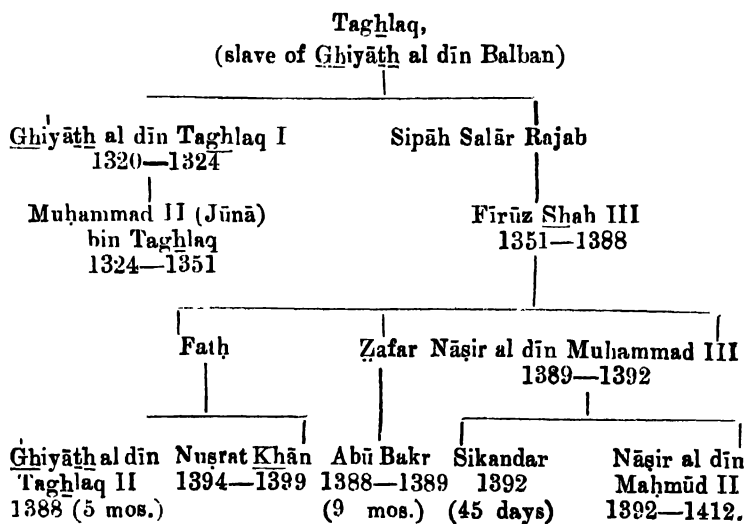
A flavour of romance attaches to the history that has come down to us of the father of the founder of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In the days of the eccentric Sultān of Dehlī, Muḥammad bin Tagh̄lāq (A.H. 725-752 ; A.D. 1324-1351), his cousin Fīrūz, while on a hunting expedition in the Khedā district of Gujarāt, wandered from his attendants and lost his way. Wearied with the chase, he turned his horse at eventide in the direction of the village of Thāsra,* and on the stranger's arrival there the village headmen, two brothers of the Tānka family of Rājput̄s, Sādhū and Sadhāran by name, cordially invited him to partake of their hospitality. Soon an ample board was spread, and Sādhū's sister, a maiden "peerless in beauty and loveliness," filling a goblet, presented it to the unknown guest. He received the vessel from her hand with a pleasure he was at no pains to conceal. After he had quaffed three cups, "the rosebud of his disposition unfolded," and now the talk grew confidential. The stranger ere long revealed himself to be the Sultān's cousin and his acknowledged heir. Sādhū straightway gave his sister, "more lovely than a hūrī of light," in nikāh marriage to the prince, and thereafter the two brothers, linking their fortunes with his, accompanied him to Dehlī, the capital of the kingdom. It was not long before both of them, in the phrase of Sikandar bin Muḥammad, "obtained the honour of Islām," and on this change of his faith Sadhāran received the title of Wajī' al Mulk, "the Support of the State." With the proselyte's proverbial zeal, the brothers became disciples of a much revered Muslim saint,† and soon gained a high reputation for piety. Of Zafar Khān, the more famous son of Wajī' al Mulk, it is related that this saint, in return for a timely kindness, promised him prophetically the whole country of Gujarāt, and later, giving him a handful of dates, said, "Zafar Khān, thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarāt." The historian adds, "Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven: God knows which story is true."

* Some historians are of opinion that the scene of this incident lay not at Thāsra in Gujarāt, but at Thānesar in the Sirhind division of the Panjāb.

† This saint was known as Quṭb al aqṭāb Ḥadrat Maḥdūm i Jahāniyān, 'the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals.' As the quṭb al aqṭāb, he was held to have attained that supreme stage of sanctity wherein is reflected the heart of the Prophet himself.

The death of the Sultān Muḥammad bin Tagḥlaq was in keeping with a life marked by projects magnificent in conception but abortive, at times ludicrously abortive, in achievement. In 1351 he set off from Gujarāt in order to chastise Lower Sindh for harbouring insurgents. Though accompanied by an army "as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts," he did not live to annihilate the refractory Sūmra Rājputs of Thatta, but himself died on the banks of the Indus from fever induced by a surfeit of fish. The Sultān had left no son,* but Firūz, his cousin and legatee, on the third day ascended the throne, and for the next thirty-seven years swayed, and on the whole beneficently, the destinies, of the Empire. Ẓafar Kḥān and his brother Shams Kḥān, as nephews of the queen, were now advanced to high honours, and to them were entrusted the responsible duties pertaining to the office of Chief Butler, 'ōhda i sharābdārī. On the death of Firūz Shāh in 1388, a grandson, Ghiyāth al dīn Tagḥlaq Shāh II, succeeding to the Saltānat, spent his brief reign of five months in an unbroken round of debauchery. Another grandson, Abū Bakr, next held the throne for some nine months, at the end of which time he was deposed by the late

* The following Genealogical Table shows the relationship of the Tagḥlaqid Sultāns of Dehli —



Firūz Shāh's son, Nāsir al dīn Muḥammad Shāh III, who for the three years 1389-1392 managed to retain the sovereign power. It was during the reign of this Sultān, Muḥammad III., that Ẓafar Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarāt. Ugly rumours had reached the Court that the then viceroy, Mufarrḥ Sultānī, more commonly known by his title of Farḥut al Mulk Rāstī Khān, had been encouraging the Hindū religion, so as to gain the goodwill of the populace, and by their aid establish a kingdom of Gujarāt entirely independent of the paramount power at Dehlī. Accordingly in 1391 the Sultān Muḥammad selected Ẓafar Khān, the son, it will be remembered, of Sadbāran, the zealous apostate from Hindūism, for the viceroyalty, in supersession of Mufarrḥ Khān. The governor-designate had a royal send-off. Firishṭa records that he was given the title of Muzaffar Khān and honoured with a dress of instalment. He was further presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion "such as are exclusively used by kings" — a fitting presage of Ẓafar's future assumption of regal power. Mufarrḥ gave battle to Ẓafar at the village of Kāmbhū in the district of Anhilwāḍa Pattan, but the unruly ruler (Nāẓim be-niẓām) was slain, and Ẓafar, to commemorate his victory, founded on the site of the battle the town of Jitpur. Thereafter the whole of Gujarāt acknowledged his authority, and under his strong administration the country prospered.

But very different ran the course of affairs at the seat of the Empire. On the death of Muḥammad III. in 1392, his son Sikandar succeeded to the throne, but suddenly died after a reign of only five and forty days. In the resultant confusion, his brother Nāsir al dīn Maḥmūd II. was chosen king by one faction of the nobles, and a cousin Nuḡrat Khān by a rival faction. For many years thereafter the kingdom was sore distracted by internal strife. War between the claimants was still proceeding when Timūr Lang, the lame Timūr (Tamerlane), crossing the Indus, led the hordes of Tartary on that terrible invasion which for a time converted Hindūstān into shambles. It was in 1398 that he marched rapidly upon Dehlī, on his way thither slaughtering in cold blood the hundred thousand captives in his camp; and early in 1399, after defeating Maḥmūd at Firūzābād, he entered the capital. For five days the ill-fated city was given over to pillage, the conqueror feasting, while his brutal soldiery in the general and indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The Sultān Maḥmūd II., however, had effected an escape, and eventually, after many wanderings in remote parts of his dominions, arrived a fugitive before the gates of Pattan. Zafar Khān at once went out to meet him, and escorted him to the palace with every mark of honour. The Sultān had hoped to secure Zafar Khān's alliance and march immediately upon Dehlī, where Nuṣrat Khān was still a source of danger. Zafar, however, did not think this enterprise advisable, so the Sultān, aggrieved, departed for Mālwa. Here, too, he was doomed to disappointment, but, having in the meantime heard that his wazīr Iqbāl Khān had expelled the rival ruler Nuṣrat, Maḥmūd returned to Dehlī in 1402—"a very shadow of a king." His authority extended to only a few districts beyond the city walls, and even that only because his wazīr amiably bestowed on him countenance and protection.

The utter anarchy that now reigned in Hindūstān naturally issued in the dismemberment of the Empire. Embracing twenty-three provinces, all held in full subjection by Muḥammad bin Taghlaq in the early part of his reign, it became from the very number of its satrapies essentially incoherent. After the catastrophe of Timūr's invasion, several independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Dehlī, and the Empire was thus despoiled of its fairest provinces. How large a number became at this time independent under their several governors, all of whom styled themselves 'kings,' is shown in the following list, quoted in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Dehlī" from the *Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhī* MS.

Zafar Khān ...	... Gujarāt.
Khizr Khān...	... Multān, Daibalpūr, Sindh.
Maḥmūd Khān	... Mahobah, Kālpī.
Khwājah i Jahān	... Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalamaui, Sundalah, Bahraich, Bahūr, Jaunpūr.
Dilāwar Khān	... Dhār (Mālwa).
Ghālib Khān	... Samānah.
Shams Khān	... Bīāna.

Strange to relate, not Zafar Khān himself but his son was the first to assume an independent authority over Gujarāt. This son, by name Tūtār Khān, had, on his father's departure as viceroy-designate of Gujarāt, been detained in Dehlī, not improbably as a pledge for the father's fidelity. In the disorders that followed upon the death

of Sultan Muhammad III (A. D. 1392), Tātār Khān, as well as others of the more ambitious nobles, aspired to the imperial throne, and thus came into collision with the powerful wazīr Iqbāl Khān. Tātār was, however, worsted in this unequal struggle, and found safety only in flight to Gujarāt, where on his arrival his father accorded him a gracious reception. But Tātār harboured in his heart an ardent desire for revenge on Iqbāl Khān, and frequently sought to win his father over to his own ambitious designs. Zafar Khān, however, was not to be moved from the conviction that any attempt on Dehlī would be fraught with disaster. From the various conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was the subsequent course of events, but the version favoured by several writers is that Tātār, finding his father thus intractable, basely had him seized and placed in confinement in the village of Asāwal, near the site of the future city of Ahmadābād. He next won over to himself the army and the chief Government officials. Thus secure, he at once assumed royal rank, and, setting up a throne, made himself king with a title variously given as Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din, Muhammad Shāh or Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al din Muhammad Shāh. This *coup d'état* would seem to have been struck in the year 1403 (A. H. 806). The imprisoned Zafar Khān, however, through one of his confidants, and afterwards by a letter secretly conveyed, prevailed upon his brother, Shams Khān, whom Tātār had appointed wazīr, to devise measures for his release. Accordingly one night, when Tātār with his army, in furtherance of his long-cherished design, was already on the march towards Dehlī, Shams Khān administered poison to his nephew, who thus, little more than two months after his accession to the throne, "drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence." Liberated from his prison, Zafar Khān, with the cordial concurrence of the nobles, now resumed the governorship. He did not, however, affect a royal style or dignity, but, on the contrary, he seems to have found the cares of office so burdensome that he desired to demit them to his brother and himself retire into private life. Shams Khān, however, refused the proffered honour, and Zafar Khān was then content to nominate as his successor his grandson, Ahmad Khān, son of the late Sultan Muhammad, a youth then but fourteen years of age. Some three uneventful years passed away before Zafar was finally constrained to accept the rôle of an independent sovereign. The circumstances

under which this change was effected, a change so fraught with consequence for Gujarāt, are thus recorded in the *Mir'āt i Sikandari*.

“ When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Dehlī, the nobles and officers represented to *Zāfar Khān*, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarāt could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself : he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Muḥammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition in the year H. 810 (A. D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sultān Muḥammad, the victorious *Zāfar Khān* raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of *Muzaffar Shāh* at Birpur ” (Ba.-S. pp. 83, 84). The *laqab*, or surname, adopted on his acceptance of the throne was *Shams al dunyā wa al dīn*, ‘ the Sun of the World and of the Faith.’

The three years of *Muzaffar*'s reign witnessed no events of general interest, being occupied mainly with a successful expedition against *Dhār* (*Mālwā*), and another “ against the infidels of *Kambh-Kot*.” To aid his former master, the Sultān *Maḥmūd*, he marched an army towards *Dehlī*, thus preventing the meditated attack on that city by Sultān *Ibrāhīm* of *Jaunpūr*.

“ As commonly reported and believed,” *Muzaffar*'s death took place under the following tragic circumstances. Some *Kolis* near *Asāwāl* having risen in rebellion, *Almad Khān* was placed in command of an army to quell the insurrection. After completing a single march from *Pattan*, he convened an assembly of divines, learned in the law, to whom he propounded the question, ‘ If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retribution ?’ All replied in the affirmative, and gave in their answers in writing. Armed with this authoritative decision, *Almad* suddenly returned with the troops to *Pattan*, there overpowered his grandfather, and forthwith handed him a cup of poison to drink. The old King in mild remonstrance exclaimed, ‘ Why so hasty my boy ? A little patience, and power would have come to you of itself, for all I

have is intended for you.' After words of advice to punish the evil counsellors who had plotted this nefarious scheme and to abstain from wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings," the Sultan Muẓaffar Shāh raised to his lips and drained the bitter cup of death. Remorse for this unnatural crime is said to have so embittered Ahmad's after-life that, like our own King Henry I., he was never known to smile again.

It is true that some historians state that in the fourth year of his reign Sultan Muẓaffar, falling ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson Ahmad, but that the disease did not terminate fatally till five months and sixteen days later. The circumstantial and detailed narrative of Sikandar can, however, hardly be a fabrication pure and simple, whereas a Muḥammadan historian, writing of a Muḥammadan king eminent for orthodoxy, would be sore tempted to suppress the record of a deed so infamous. The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after-years of Ahmad's life finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent, he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jāmi' Masjid of Ahmadābād is still shown in the Royal Gallery--the Mulūk Khāna—a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Ahmad's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is *Khudāyagūn i Maghfūr*, 'The Great Lord forgiven,' thus betokening that "Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmad's youth." (W.-B. (i. p. 240.)

On his grandfather's death Ahmad succeeded to the throne with the title of *Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn* Abu'l Faṭḥ Ahmad Shāh. Though thus the third Sultan of the dynasty, his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years (A. H. 813-846; A.D. 1410-1443), his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Jūnāghar, Chāmpānūr, Idar, and Mālwa, his building of Ahmadābād as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Saltānat is known to-day by the name of Ahmad Shāhī. He may with justice be held the virtual founder of that dynasty "which was to maintain in Gujarāt for nearly two hundred years

a sway brilliant in its military enterprises and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province." *

Having now traced in some detail the rise of the Gujarāt Saltānat, it will suffice for the purpose of this article to indicate little more than the succession of rulers till the close of the dynasty in 1573. Two events, however, in Aḥmad's reign demand special notice by reason of their connexion with the coins of the period, to wit, the founding of the two cities named after the Sultān himself, Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar (Īdar). According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī it was in the year H. 813 (A. D. 1411) that Aḥmad Shāh, having received "the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shaiḥ Aḥmad Ganj Bakhsh," began to build and establish the Shahr i Mu'azzam, 'the Great City,' Aḥmadābād, in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The Sultān had always professed himself partial to the air and soil of that town, but tradition assigns two further reasons for the founding of the city on its present site. Asāwal was the hold of the famous robber chieftain Asā Bhil, whose daughter's charms and beauty had won the heart of Aḥmad Shāh. Then, too, at this spot, while the King was one day hunting, a hare had turned on the hounds and fiercely assailed them. To commemorate a courage so phenomenal, Aḥmad desired a city should be built, and among the local peasantry the saying still is heard, "When a hare attacked a dog, the king founded the city." It is on record that the four boundaries of the city were lined out by four Aḥmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer (ḡōhr). The first was that Pole-Star of Shaiḥs and Holy Men, the Shaiḥ Aḥmad Khaṭṭu Ganj Bakhsh; the second the king himself; the third another Shaiḥ Aḥmad; and the fourth a Mullā Aḥmad; these last two being high-born connexions of the Sultān. The city walls, some six miles in circumference, formed a semicircle facing the river Sābarmatī and frowning down on it in imposing ramparts, fifty feet high. Sir Theodore Hope has thus graphically pictured the wonderful development of the work then begun. "In three years the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, but the great buildings rose only by degrees, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adornment was carried on with unremitting energy, till archi-

* Hope and Fergusson's *Architecture of Aḥmadābād*, p. 26.

ecture could proceed no further, having satisfied the æsthetic and social wants of above two millions of souls. For materials the finest edifices of Anhilwāḍa, Chandrāvātī, and other cities were ruthlessly plundered; but their delicate sculptures appear with few exceptions to have been scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, where they are now constantly found, while for their own works the conquerors resorted to the sand-stone quarries of Aḥmadnagar and Dhrāṅgada, or the marble hills of the Ajmir district. As to style it was the singular fortune of the Muḥammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries and rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe.”* In Aḥmad’s own reign the chief buildings erected were, in addition to the triple gateway and the walls surrounding the city and the inner citadel (Bhadra), the Jāmē’ Masjid or Cathedral Mosque, the Sultān’s private chapel, and the mosques of Haibat Khān, Saiyid ‘Ālam, Malik ‘Ālam, and Sīdī Saiyid, the last with glorious windows of pierced stone. With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Aḥmad’s name the proud title of Bānī Aḥmadābād, ‘Founder of Aḥmadābād.’

The chief of Īdar long proved a troublesome neighbour to Aḥmad Shāh, who on more than one occasion led an army against that State, only to find that its ruler had retired to the safe covert of its hills. To overawe the Rāv Pūnjā, and permanently check his movements, Aḥmad constructed, eighteen miles south-west of Īdar, on the banks of the Hāthmatī River, a fort, and to the city that sprang up round it he gave the name of Aḥmadnagar. So beautiful is the natural scenery of that district—maiden-hair fern still grows in rich profusion beside the river’s limpid waters—that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Aḥmad made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the headquarters of Government. The date of the founding of Aḥmadnagar is given by Firishṭa as H. 829, but by Sikandar as H. 830. Frequently have I come across coins from the Aḥmadnagar mint

* Hope and Fergusson’s Architecture of Aḥmadābād, pp. 27, 28.

bearing as date of issue the later year (compare Plate I, Nos. 4, 5, 6); but it was a special pleasure to receive a few months ago from my friend Mr. Frāmījī Jāmaspījī Thānāwālū of Bombay the present of a copper coin of Aḥmad's from this mint, dated quite clearly H. 829.

On his death in H. 846, Aḥmad was succeeded on the throne by his son Muḥammad Shāh (II), who, taking the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn, 'Aid of the World and of the Faith,' reigned during the next nine years. Some of the coins struck by this king were, as we shall afterwards see, of an unusual type (Plate I, 8a, 8b), but the events of his reign do not merit special record. The mildness of his disposition, contrasting with his father's forceful character, gained him the appellation of Karīm, 'Merciful'; while his lavish liberality procured him the epithet Zar Bakhsh, 'the Gold-giver.' Sikandar writes, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State" (Ba.-S. p. 129). When Maḥmūd Khaljī advanced with a large army to annex Gujaraṭ to his own kingdom of Mālwa, Sultān Muḥammad with a craven timidity took to flight, whereupon the Gujarāt officers, "feeling for their character," compassed his destruction. According to one account, at their instance the Sultān's queen herself administered poison to him (Br.-F. IV. 36); whereas, according to another, it was his son and successor Jalāl Khān who "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultān's life" (Ba.-S. p. 131).

Jalāl Khān, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title and style of Qutb al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, 'the Pole-star of the world and of the Faith.' Over this reign also, extending from H. 855 to 863, we need not linger. The Mālwa Sultān was defeated near Kapaḍwauj, and later on in the reign tribute was exacted from the Rāṇā of Chitor. His personal valour gained this Aḥmad the appellation of Ghāzī, or Champion of the Faith, but he was of a violent and capricious temper, and frequently abandoned himself to disgraceful debauches. When angry, or under the influence of liquor, he was absolutely reckless as to the shedding of blood. A terrible tragedy attended his sudden death. A rumour spread that his wife had poisoned him at the instance of her father, who hoped thus to clear a path for himself to the throne. The Sultān's mother,

giving credence to this story, handed the unsuspecting queen over to the vengeance of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces, and the nobles of the court killed her father. Ere long, however, ample evidence was forthcoming to establish the absolute innocence of the murdered father and daughter.

The next occupant of the throne was Dā'ūd Shāh, uncle of the preceding king, and brother of *his* predecessor, Muḥammad II. He had hardly assumed the sovereign power when he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household. This and "other acts of imbecility" led to his deposition after a reign of only seven days. He sought refuge in the friendly shelter of a monastery, and there spent the short remainder of his life.

His successor, Maḥmūd Shāh, was by far the most celebrated of all the kings of this dynasty, and the prosperity of the kingdom culminated during his glorious reign of over half a century (A. H. 863-917, A. D. 1458-1511). As in the history of the Saltānat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful. In the Aḥmadābād bāzār more silver and copper coins of his reign are met with to-day than those of all the other Gujarāt Sultāns together, and of the entire series his are almost the only Maḥmūdīs that can be justly termed effective expressions of the engraver's art. The Muhammadan historians verge on rhapsody in their high eulogies of Maḥmūd and all his works. "He added glory and lustre to the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt Kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him, and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmān-, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood and in old age, for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence" (Ba.-S. p. 161). To this day the glory of his name lives enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India as a pious Musalmān and model sovereign. He was eminently successful not in military operations alone, but also in civil administration, and sought to secure to his subjects the sweets of peace. The Mir'āt i Aḥmadī records that he "built several magnificent caravansarais and lodging-houses for travellers, and founded several colleges and mosques. . . . All the fruit-trees in the open country, as

well as those in the city, towns, and villages, were planted in the reign of this Sultān" (Bi.-A. p. 205). With all his many excellencies, however, Maḥmūd had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton. His daily allowance of food was one Gujarātī *man* in weight, i.e., 41 lbs. On his retiring to rest, a confection of rice would be placed on either side of his bed, so that, awaking at whatever hour, he might stretch forth his hand and eat. His "little breakfast" consisted of a hundred and fifty plantains, with a cup of honey and another of butter. Uneasy in his consciousness of an appetite transgressing all decent bounds, he often used to say, 'If God had not raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Gujarāt, who would have satisfied his hunger?' Nor, according to the stories of early European travellers, was his diet limited to rice and plantains and honey and butter. "Every day he eats poison," so wrote Ludovico di Varthema* in 1510, and then he proceeds to record how this poison had so saturated Maḥmūd's system that his spittle was fatal to any upon whom His Majesty might choose to eject it. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt shortly after Maḥmūd's death, states that the Sultān was brought up from a child, and nourished, with poison. "This king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead."† From such travellers' tales as these Maḥmūd gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as the Blue Beard of Indian History, and it is to him that Butler referred in the well-known lines from Hudibras,

"The Prince of Cambay's daily food

Is asp and basilisk and toad" (Part II., Canto I).

This "Prince of Cambay" was but thirteen years of age when called to the throne, and even thus early he showed his mettle in the fearless suppression of a conspiracy designed to effect the downfall of the chief minister 'Imād al mulk. Quiver on back and bow in

* The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

† A Description of the Coasts of East India and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 57.

hand, the young king, attended by only three hundred horsemen, marched from his palace in the Bhadra to oppose the rebel force, assembled in far superior numbers. Having first secured the various approaches to the palace, he gave orders that his elephants, some five hundred in number, should charge all at once. Panic seized the enemy. Their soldiers cast away their arms, and slunk into hiding in the neighbouring houses, while the amirs fled precipitately from the city. A detailed account of the reign of Maḥmūd, or of his successes in the Deccan and Kāthiāwād and Sindh would here be out of place. We need for our present purpose only narrate his founding of the two mint-towns of Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād.

In H. 871 (A. D. 1466) Maḥmūd made an expedition against the Maṇḍalik Rājā, or petty king, of Girnār, a district in the south-west of Kāthiāwād. On this occasion the Rājā tendered his submission, whereupon Maḥmūd withdrew his troops to Gujarāt. The next year, however, information was received that the Rājā Maṇḍalik had visited a "temple of idolatry," taking with him all the insignia of royalty. Maḥmūd, accordingly, determined to humble the pride of this infidel ruler. His capital was forthwith invested, and its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost straits. In H. 874 the fort of Girnār, considered one of the strongest in all India, surrendered to this Gujarāt Sultān, and the Rājā accepted the faith of Islām. Firishṭa adds that Maḥmūd, "being desirous that the tenets of Islām should be propagated throughout the country of Girnār, caused a city to be built, which he called Muṣṭafābād, for the purpose of establishing an honorable residence for the venerable personages of the Muḥammadan religion deputed to disseminate its principles. Maḥmūd Shāh also took up his residence in that city" (Br.-F. IV. 56).

Fifteen years elapsed before the founding of the second mint-town, Muḥammadābād, in H. 889 (A. D. 1484). During a season of scarcity one of Sultān Maḥmūd's captains, raiding in Chāmpānīr territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwāl Jayasingh. Thereupon Maḥmūd, refusing all arbitrament except 'the sword and the dagger,' marched with a large army against Chāmpānīr by way of Baroda. The siege of the hill-fort was protracted for more than a year, but Maḥmūd, in token of his fixed resolution not to leave till the fort should be taken, laid in his military lines the foundations of a beautiful mosque. At length finding resistance unavailing, the Rāwāl consigned to the flames the women of his household and all

his valuables, and then sallied forth in a fierce charge. Wounded, he fell into the hands of the Sultān, but, unlike the Maṇḍalik Rājā, he declined to embrace Islām, and bravely paid the forfeit of his life. On the fall of the fort, Maḥmūd changed the name of the city to Muḥammadābād. This name is correctly given in the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* (Ba.-S. p. 211) and in the *Mō'āṣir* (Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i Akbari*, I. 507, note). Firishtā, however, states, "During the time the king was detained by the sick and wounded at Chāmpānīr, he laid the foundation of the city of Maḥmūdābād." (Br.-r. IV. 70); but in at least nine subsequent references to this same place Firishtā himself calls it Muḥammadābād-(Chāmpānīr.* Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on Plate III., the margin of which reads not Maḥmūdābād, but very clearly Muḥammadābād 'urī Chāmpānīr. Maḥmūd did found a city named after himself Maḥmūdābād, but this was situated not in the vicinity of Chāmpānīr, but on the bank of the River Wātrak, eighteen miles south-east of Aḥmadābād. It is the city which in A. D. 1546 the Sultān Maḥmūd III., on removing from Aḥmadābād, chose for his residence, and where he "laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the 'Deer Park,' the like of which was never seen upon the earth" (Ba.-S. p. 443). The original name Maḥmūdābād is now corrupted to Meḥmūdābād or Meḥmadābād. This city does not seem to have ever possessed a mint, and should not be confused with the mint town Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. In the latter "many great buildings were raised and gardens laid out, and, by the skill of a native of Khurāsān, well-fitted with fountains and waterfalls. Its fruits, especially its mangoes, were famous, and its sandal trees grew so freely that their timber was used in house-building. Mechanics and craftsmen thronged its streets, Chāmpānīr sword-blades became noted for their sharpness, and Chāmpānīr silks for their bright colours. Though he by no means deserted Aḥmadābād, Maḥmūd III. continued to the close of his reign to consider Muḥammadābād (Chāmpānīr his capital" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 305). In 1555, however, this city was pillaged by the Emperor Humāyūn, and soon thereafter the court and capital were transferred back to Aḥmadābād. The almost simultaneous loss of the Gujarāt ascendancy over Mālwa precipitated

* Br.-F. IV. 72, 73, 71, 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 128.

the city's decay. Its subsequent decline was indeed so rapid that only some eighty years later it was held to afford a classical illustration of the truth of the verse, 'All on earth fades, and God does as He wills.'

The subjection of the "two forts" (in Gujarātī બે ગઢ, *be gadh*) of Gīrnār and Chāmpānūr is held by some historians to supply the key to Maḥmūd's etymologically perplexing title of Begadā (બેગડા). Another suggested derivation is that the term Bigarha (بیگرہ), meaning, so it is said, 'a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace,' was applied to Sultān Maḥmūd, inasmuch as the said Sultān "has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."¹

Maḥmūd Shāh died in 1511, just a hundred (solar) years after the founding of Aḥmadābād. It had been a century of large growth and prosperity, thanks mainly to the strong administrations of Aḥmad and Maḥmūd, whose combined reigns covered no less than eighty-five years. But now began that period of national decline which was to issue in the final subjugation of the province by the imperial troops of Akbar (A. D. 1573). Maḥmūd Begadā's son, Khālīl Khān, succeeded to the throne under the name of Muẓaffar II. For piety and learning, liberality and bravery, he was held unequalled in his age, and on account of his many merciful acts he was entitled Muẓaffar the Clement. Notwithstanding his many admirable traits, he was as a king fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his nobles. Their influence, thus unchecked, grew into a power which was eventually to subvert the dynasty. Lacking the sternness and energy that those rough times demanded, Muẓaffar's clemency often interposed to save the guilty from merited punishment, and "such conduct was, on the whole, the cause of disturbances" (Bi.-A. p. 229). Troubles in Mālwa and wars with the Īdar chief occupied much of the fifteen years of his reign (A. H. 917-932, A. D. 1511-1525), but these need not detain us. In connexion with this king's last illness, Sikandar relates several anecdotes illustrating a singularly unselfish and amiable disposition. A sore famine was afflicting the land, so Muẓaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "O Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and

¹ The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sultān was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sultān are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens. One day he was listening to the commentary of a reader of the Qōr'ān, and observed, "I read more of the Qōr'ān now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary: I trust to hear the other half in heaven." He died on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. Hearing that morning the call to prayer, he said, 'I have not strength to go to the masjid myself,' but he sent one of his attendants. After a short time he performed his ablutions, and said the prayers: then he put up humble and earnest supplications for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the Confession of Faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name (Ba.-S., pp. 279-281).

Muzaffar's eldest son, Sikandar, ascended the throne on his father's death, but, slighting the older ministers of the crown, and showering honours on the companions of his youthful follies, he soon became extremely unpopular. The defeat of his troops by the Rāṣṭ of Chitor served to intensify the general odium against him. 'Imād al mulk, a great favourite of the late king, being informed that Sikandar had designs upon his life, determined to be beforehand with him, and, forthwith entering into a conspiracy, caused the Sultān to be assassinated in his bedchamber.

After Sikandar's reign of less than seven weeks, his brother, Naṣir Khān, a child of six, was raised to the throne under the title of Maḥmūd Shāh II., this being effected through the influence of 'Imād al mulk. The complete ascendancy now obtained by this minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, who sent secret messages to the late Sultān Muzaffar's second son, Bahādur Khān, then at Jaunpūr, apprising him of the turn events had taken, and promising him, if he would assert his claim to the throne, their hearty assistance. This prince accepted the invitation to return, and, meeting with but little opposition on the way, advanced to Aḥmadābād. Imād al mulk was at once seized, and ignominiously executed at

Chāmpānīr, and a few months later by Bahādūr's order his infant brother Maḥmūd II was poisoned.

The eleven years of Sultān Bahādūr's reign (A. H. 932-943, A.D. 1526—1536) were years full of stirring incidents, for during them he entered into conflict not only with the rulers of Mālwa, Jhālāwār, and the Deccan, but also with Humāyūn, who at Delhi was already carving out for his descendants the great Mughal Empire, and with the Portuguese, then so formidable as a naval power. Humāyūn, inflicting upon Bahādūr defeat after defeat, drove him from Mandāsār to Māndū, thence to Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, and thence to Cambay, all which towns were successively given up to plunder by the conquerors. Thus the Sultān Bahādūr, who had but recently compelled obedience from the Kings of the Deccan, Khāndesh, and Birār, who had overthrown the powerful rule of Maḥmūd Khalji of Mālwa, and had stormed the strong fortress of Chitor, found himself in the short space of six months a fugitive craving protection from the Portuguese at Diu. His overthrow had been complete and final had only the Emperor Humāyūn been able to follow up his victories and march against Sorāṭh. Fortunately for the Sultān, however, Shīr Shāh, the governor of Bengal, revolted at this juncture, and it thus became imperative for the Emperor to return to his own capital. After his departure from Gujarāt, Bahādūr took heart again, and with the aid of allies collected a large army. In the hard-contested battle of Kaniḥ, five miles north-west of Maḥmūdābād, the imperial troops that Humāyūn had left behind were defeated and ultimately expelled the country. Thus both Gujarāt and Mālwa were rid of the Mughals, who for some nine months had occupied these provinces, and the Sultān Bahādūr Shāh regained his kingdom. The Portuguese, in return for the help they had given Bahādūr, were now granted permission to build a factory at Diu. Instead of a factory, however, they erected a fort. Bahādūr, accordingly, proceeded in person to the island of Diu, and in the subsequent negotiations with the Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, there can be little doubt that both sides meditated treachery. In response to an invitation, the Sultān, accompanied only by a small guard, visited the Governor in his vessel, then lying at anchor in the harbour. On his arrival every mark of honour was accorded him. Round the Sultān's head the captain waved as *largesse* "plates upon plates of gold and shield upon shield of jewels, and then

conducted him to a royal seat, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sultān, also, was weaving a plot, but Fate was not in accord with his plans" (Ba.-S., p. 397). At the moment of departure Bahādur was about to step into a barge to return to the shore when the boat drew off, and the King fell into the water. Faria e Souza's brief record of the final tragedy is as follows:— "Tristan de Payva de Santarem, coming up, reached out to the King an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water, and then sank, and neither his nor Emmanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours".¹

His early death, for he was but thirty-one, under such tragic circumstances, won for Bahādur a sympathy he little merited. In disposition he was rash and impetuous, cruel and vindictive, and his inglorious administration of the country was due not so much to weakness or want of ability as to his sloth and sensuality.

On Bahādur's death, his sister's son, Mirān Muhammad Farrukhī of Khāndesh, was, in compliance with the express wish of the late king, invited to accept the throne of Gujarāt. He, however, on learning of his uncle's murder, was overwhelmed with grief. Abandoning his wonted pleasures, he spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer. Now and again with many a sigh he would exclaim, 'I consume! I consume!' and but six weeks after his accession he departed this life.

The next occupant of the throne of Gujarāt was a child of eleven, the Sultān Maḥmūd III, who also was a nephew of the late Sultān Bahādur, a son of his brother Laṭif. The eighteen years of his reign (A. H. 943-961; A. D. 1536-1553) were altogether uneventful, being marked only by the petty intrigues of ministers, each seeking his own selfish ends. For some five years the king, being still a minor, was under the strict surveillance of a noble, named Daryā Khān, who was *de facto* ruler of the province. When Maḥmūd, impatient of further restraint, threw off his yoke, Daryā

¹ Quoted in Br.-F. IV., p. 138, from Faria e Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia.

Khān brought forward a boy, whom he declared to be a scion of the royal house, and, seating him on the throne under the title of Sultān Muẓaffar III, caused coins to be struck and the public prayers to be read in his name. This rebellion, however, was but short-lived, the popular suffrage being in favour of Maḥmūd. It will be remembered that it was this monarch who beautified with the wonderful 'Deer Park' the city of Maḥmūdābād (Mehmadābād), and who here took up his abode. Here, too, he met his death at the hand of "a certain villainous evil-doer," who bore "the ill-omened name of Burhān." Having invited some holy men for the reading of the Qōr'ān, the Sultān had entertained them as his guests, and distributed amongst them money and clothes, after which, wearied with this service, he retired to his chamber for rest. Thirsty, he called for some sharbat, whereupon Burhān, his cup-bearer, brought him a poisoned narcotic. After taking the draught, Maḥmūd suddenly became unwell, but in the second watch of the night dozed off to sleep. Then that villain, "accursed in this world and in the next," fearing lest the poison had failed to take effect, drew a Dārīnī dagger, and stabbed the Sultān to death.

In the hope of securing for himself the throne of Gujarāt, Burhān had hatched a deep-laid plot. The late Sultān had recruited a force of twelve hundred men, known as the Bāgh-mār, "Tiger-slayers." Burhān now sent for their leaders, with whom he had been at pains to ingratiate himself, and, concealing them in an ante-chamber, told them it was the Sultān's order that they should kill whoever might enter. He then summoned the chief minister and other nobles, on the pretext that the Sultān desired to consult them on State business of urgency. Some thirteen of the highest functionaries responded to the summons, and on their arrival were all assassinated as they passed one by one into the room. Then, rifling the Sultān's jewel-chamber, Burhān distributed lapfuls of precious gems to his vile companions, and, binding on his own neck a richly bejewelled collar, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." When at dawn rumour of the foul murders spread through the city, some of the surviving nobles on their way to the palace met a procession heralding Burhān as the new Sultān. As it was passing, Burhān himself, noticing that Shirwān Khān had, as a mark of courtesy, alighted from his horse, cried out, 'Let Shirwān Khān come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance.'

Hearing these words, Shirwān fired with rage, did draw near, and with his sword dealing the villain a mighty blow across the loins cut him in twain. Of the 'tiger-slayers' accompanying him, some fled, but "some were sent after that evil one to Hell" (Ba.-S., p. 452).

Incredible as it seems, the Hindūs in their passionate hatred of Maḥmūd regarded his murderer Burhān in the light of a saviour of the people, and are said to have made after Burhān's death a stone image of him, to which they paid divine honours. This hatred on the part of the Hindūs was not without a cause, for the Sultān had visited them with bitter persecutions. Many of the Rājputs and Kolis he had caused to be branded, and had compelled them to wear, as a token of subjection, a red rag on the right sleeve. They were forbidden to ride within the walls of the city of Aḥmadābād, and the celebration of the Holī and Diwālī was proscribed.

In the confusion consequent upon the massacre of Maḥmūd and so many of his nobles, the court and people turned, as though instinctively, towards one of the amīrs, by name Ētimād Khān, who for the next twenty years fulfilled the rôle of "King-maker." Originally a Hindū servant of the Sultān Maḥmūd, he had embraced Islām, and his master ultimately reposed in him such absolute confidence as to place the haram under his charge. On his now being questioned whether any of the Sultān's wives were expecting a child, he replied in the negative, but he added that a boy, a blood-relation of the murdered Sultān, was living at Aḥmadābād. The messenger sent thither found the child bringing home some grain for his pet pigeons. Picking up the boy, he drove off at full speed towards Maḥmūdābād, and to the expostulating nurse sententiously replied, 'I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend.'

Enthroned in the year H. 961 (A. D. 1553) with the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn Aḥmad Shāh (III), he was nominal ruler of Gujarāt till H. 968. Firishta, indeed, gives H. 969 as the last year of Aḥmad's reign (Br.-F. IV. 155), but the coin No. 71 on Plate VI proves that already in H. 968 Muẓaffar (III) was king.

Early in Aḥmad's reign a party headed by Ikhtiyār al mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne, "a person

named Shāhū, the Sultān's paternal uncle" (Bi.-A., p 275); but at a battle fought near Mahmūdābād this Shāhū and his supporters were defeated. Mutual strife and discord prevailed amongst the nobles and served to hasten on the disintegration of the kingdom. Ē'timād Khān on some slight pretext fled to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, who, championing his cause, gladly led an army against Gujarāt. The invader was, however, content to return on the cession to him of Sultānpūr and Nandarbār, which districts thus became permanently alienated from the Saltanat. On a later occasion one of the nobles, in order to gain possession of the city of Sūrat, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom, in recognition of the services then rendered, Daman and Sanjān were granted. Thus two more provinces were lost to the kingdom.

After remaining for five years in tutelage, Ahmad sought to take the reins of power into his own hands, but Ē'timād was too powerful a minister to be superseded, and Ahmad, who had meanwhile left for Mahmūdābād to consult with one of his principal courtiers, was brought back to the capital. Outwardly he was reconciled to Ē'timād, but his animosity against the masterful wazīr could not be long concealed. Once in his impatience he cut down a plantain tree, and then exclaimed, 'Would God it had been Ē'timād Khān!' Shortly thereafter the king's dead body was found, lying exposed on the sands of the Sābarmatī River, close by the houses of the Bhadra. One account has it that he met his death in a love-intrigue at night, but the more probable story is that of the Mir'āt i Ahmadi, which records in detail how the Sultān was assassinated at the instigation of his designing minister.

At this crisis it was to him that the nobles again looked to nominate a successor to the throne, and Ē'timād, again equal to the occasion, produced a child named Nathū (or, according to Firishṭa, Ḥabīb or Ḥabū, Br.-F. IV. 155), who, he now swore, was a son of Sultān Mahmūd. The mother, when pregnant, had, so he asserted, been handed over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles accepting, if not believing, this new version of the story, raised the boy of twelve to the throne under the title of Shams al dunyā wa al dīn Muzaffar Shāh (III).

The *Tārīkh* i Sorāṭh mentions that during this reign—it was probably in the year H. 978 (A. D. 1570)—Satrasāl bin Vibhāji, the Jām of Navānagar in the west of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, received permission from the Gujarāt Sultān to issue coined money. It was, however, stipulated that Muẓaffar's name should appear on these new coins, and that they should be called Maḥmūdīs after Muẓaffar's father, the late Sultān Maḥmūd. "The permission was obtained in the following way. On "a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sultān with a "Korī (the newly-struck silver coin) as nazrānah, and said, 'In the "same way as the dignity of rājās is augmented by giving their "daughters to His Majesty the Sultān, so I wed my Kumvarī (Guj- "arātī, कुम्वरी a maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour "'will increase.' The Sultān, pleased with the conceit, issued the "permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called "Kumvarī in the Hindū language. And by the mispronunciation of "the vulgar it is now called Korī" ¹

The latter name, as being in homely vernacular, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Maḥmūdī. The Koris issued by the Navānagar State are known as Jāmshāīs, those of the Jūnāgaḍh State as Diwānshāīs, and those of the Porbandar State as Rānāshāīs. All three kinds have continued to be minted till within the last few years.*

During his minority Muẓaffar was but a puppet-king, the kingdom being definitely partitioned out amongst some half dozen of his nobles. Incessant feuds resulted. At this juncture another disturbing element appeared upon the scene. Certain Mirzās, five in number, sons of Sultān Husain of *Khurāsān*, having escaped from the fort in which by the order of the Emperor Akbar they had been confined, sought an asylum with the powerful amīr Changīz Khān of Broach. On the complicated intrigues that ensued it is unnecessary here to dwell. Suffice it to say, confusion now became worse confounded, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour. Party

¹ Burgess' translation of the *Tārīkh* i Sorāṭh, pp. 216, 247.

* 100 Jāmshāī Koris equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees ;
100 Diwānshāī Koris equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees,
and 100 Rānāshāī Koris equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees (*Kāṭhiāwāḍ Gazetteer*, pp. 201, 202).

fought against party, and new parties were ever forming. In the midst of all this anarchy Ē'timād Khān resolved once again to be 'King-maker.' Accordingly through one of his agents he sent a message to the Emperor Akbar, representing the state of affairs, and entreating him to invade Gujarāt and annex it to his dominions. Akbar, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzās from their place of refuge, readily responded to Ē'timād Khān's proposal. If '*Divide et impera*' be the secret of imperial extension, Akbar's work was practically accomplished for him even before the July of 1572 (A. II. 980) when with his army he set out for Aḥmadābād. The Kingdom of Gujarāt was already broken up into many incoherent fragments, and Akbar had but to step in and assume supreme control. On the invading army's arrival at Dīsā, intelligence was received that the road to Aḥmadābād was clear, the siege of that city by Shīr Khān Fūlādī, one of the chief insurgents, having been abandoned. Officers sent ahead to secure the person of Sultān Muẓaffar found him hiding in a field of grain, and brought him to their camp a prisoner. Thereupon the Gujarātī nobles one after another tendered their submission to the Emperor, and orders were forthwith issued that coins should be struck and the Khutba read in the name of Akbar Pādshāh. Not six months had elapsed since his departure from Ajmīr, nor had he in the meantime risked the issue of a single battle, yet now the fair province of Gujarāt — the Garden of India — lay at his feet, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount. True, the country had not yet been definitely conquered, much less finally pacified. Akbar, who had early returned to Agra, was in the following year to make his wonderful march from Fathpūr back to Aḥmadābād — six hundred miles in nine days — and within the following eleven days was to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy, relieve the beleaguered garrison, settle the future government of the province, and leave again for Agra. Still later on, severe fighting was to take place in different parts of the country, at Nāndod and Īdar and Sirohi and Nandarbār, also in the Sorāṭh district at Navānagar and Mangrol and Kodinār; but at no time did the imperial troops suffer more than temporary checks. From the annexation of the province in 1573 right on till 1758, the year of the final capture of Aḥmadābād by the Marāṭhās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Dehlī. The days of the Gujarāt Saltānat had ended.

One episode, the last bright flicker of the dying flame, remains to be recorded. The Emperor Akbar, having in H. 980 taken Muẓaffar Shāh with him to Agra, granted him in jāgīr the sarkārs of Sārangpūr and Ujjain in Mālwa, districts producing a handsome revenue. On Mun'im Khān Khānān's departure for Bengal, he was accompanied by Muẓaffar, who soon thereafter received his daughter in marriage. Ere long, however, Muẓaffar, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned by his father-in-law, but eventually in H. 991 he managed to escape and fled direct to Gujarāt. While in retirement with his mother's relatives at the village of Khīrī in the Sardhār district of Sorath, he received an invitation from certain disaffected officers of the but recently recalled viceroy, Shihāb al dīn, urging that he should strike for the throne. Shihāb al dīn himself repudiated these conspirators, and ultimately with his remaining troops joined the army of Ē'timād Khān, the new viceroy. Meanwhile, however, Muẓaffar marched at the head of some four thousand horse on Aḥmadābād. A friendly faction in that city gave him access, and, as part of the city wall was broken down, he effected an immediate entrance. The united imperial forces now advanced against him, but Muẓaffar, engaging them without delay, inflicted a total defeat and captured all their baggage. Thus once again, after an interval of eleven years, Muẓaffar seated himself on the throne of Gujarāt, and in token of his new-found sovereignty issued from the Aḥmadābād mint coins struck in his own name. But this resumption of regal power was not of long duration. When the news of Muẓaffar's successes reached the Emperor at the end of H. 991 (A. D. 1583), he at once conferred the government of Gujarāt on Mirzā Abd al Raḥīm Khān, who some six years before had held the viceroyalty of that province. Hearing of the advance of this new viceroy, Muẓaffar, who had gone to Broach to take over its surrendered fort, at once returned to Aḥmadābād, and encamped his army close to the suburb of 'Oṭhmānpūr, on the right bank of the Sābarmatī. Mirzā Khān halted his troops near Sarkhej, awaiting hourly expected reinforcements from Mālwa. Obviously it was to Sultān Muẓaffar's advantage not to allow of delay, and accordingly advancing he engaged Mirzā Khān's army in a pitched battle on the 26th of January, 1584. At first fortune seemed to favour Muẓaffar, but later in the day the imperial elephants threw the enemy's ranks into confusion, and the Sultān, giving up all as lost, fled to Maḥmūdābād and thence to Cambay. In honour of this decisive victory, Mirzā

Khān, now ennobled with the title of Khān Khānān, built on the battle-site near Sarkhej a palace and in a garden summer-houses. A few traces of these buildings are still to be seen at the village known to-day as Fath Wāḍī, or Victory Garden.

For eight more years Muzaffar bravely strove to maintain the unequal contest, wandering from place to place and seeking the aid of friendly nobles. His cause was espoused for a time by the chiefs of Rājpipla, Morvī, and Jūnāgaḥ. In H. 1000 (A. D. 1591) he had taken refuge with the pirate chieftain Sawā Wādhel of Ret, who gallantly gave his life in the defence of his guest Muzaffar. The royal fugitive forthwith crossed over into Cutch, and accordingly the Gujarāt viceroy, Mirzā 'Aziz Kokaltash, struck across country towards Morvī. Here the Jādeja Bhārmal I, the then Rā'o, on coming to pay his respects to the viceroy, was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morvī, proffered him as a bribe.¹ In fulfilment of his atrocious stipulation, the Rā'o led a small detachment of the imperial troops to the spot where Muzaffar lay in concealment, and the ex-king thus fell into the enemy's hands. That whole night he was marched under strict guard towards the viceroy's camp, but at daybreak, on reaching Dhrol, a town some twenty-five miles east of Jāmnagar, he alighted from his horse, and, withdrawing behind a tree, cut his throat with a razor. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, last but not least of the Sultāns of Gujarāt.

II.—Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltanat.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
1	Muhammad I. ...		A. H. 806 A. D. 1403	2 months.
2	Muzaffar I. ...	A. H. 713 A. D. 1342	A. H. 810—813 A. D. 1407—1410	3 years 8 months.

¹ "To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jādeja and the honour of the pirate Wādhel, the Emperor erected two *pāliqās* at the gates of Dehli, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wādhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jādeja the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper." Tod's "Western India," p. 438.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
3	Aḥmad I. ...	A. H. 793 A. D. 1390	A. H. 813—846 A. D. 1410—1442	32 years 6 months.
4	Muḥammad II. ...		A. H. 846—855 A. D. 1442—1451	8 years 9 months.
5	Qutb aldin Aḥmad II. cir.	A. H. 835 A. D. 1431	A. H. 855—863 A. D. 1451—1458	8 years 6 months.
6	Dā'ūd ...		A. H. 863 A. D. 1458	7 days.
7	Maḥmūd I. ...	A. H. 849 A. D. 1445	A. H. 863—917 A. D. 1458—1511	54 years 1 month.
8	Muzaffar II. ...	A. H. 880 A. D. 1475	A. H. 917—932 A. D. 1511—1525	14 years 9 months.
9	Sikandar ...		A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	1 month 16 days.
10	Maḥmūd II ...	cir. A. H. 926 A. D. 1519	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	4 months.
11	Bahādur ...	A. H. 912 A. D. 1506	A. H. 932—943 A. D. 1526—1536	11 years 3 months.
12	Muḥammad III. ...		A. H. 943 A. D. 1536	1 month 12 days.
13	Maḥmūd III... ..	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	A. H. 943—961 A. D. 1536—1553	18 years 3 months.
14	Aḥmad III. ...	cir. A. H. 949 A. D. 1542	A. H. 961—968 A. D. 1553—1560	7 years 5 months.
15	Muzaffar III... ..	cir. A. H. 955 A. D. 1548	A. H. 968—980 A. D. 1560—1573 and A. H. 991—992 A. D. 1583—1584	12 years 2 months. 5 months.

Notes on the Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltānat.

1. The dates entered in the "List" have been determined after weighing the available evidence, but absolute correctness is difficult of attainment, as the authorities themselves are frequently at variance. The following are the chief discrepancies:—

(a) According to the *Tārīkh i Alfī*, Muzaffar I. died not in H. 813 but in H. 814. It states that in the former year Muzaffar

abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Aḥmad I., but that his death did not take place till five months and sixteen days after his abdication. During this interval the Khuṭba was read and coins were struck in Aḥmad's name (Ba.-S. page 87 note*).

- (b) According to Firishta, Aḥmad I. was born not in H. 793 but in H. 794 (Br.-F. IV. 3).
 - (c) According to the Mir'āt i Sikandarī, Aḥmad I. died not in H. 846 but in H. 845. Copper coins of this Sultān are, however, in my possession bearing the date H. 846, which year tallies with the statement in the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī that Aḥmad's successor, Muḥammad I., ascended the throne on "3rd Rabi' al ākhīr, 846."
 - (d) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Dā'ud reigned not for seven days only but for one month and seven days (Bi.-A. p. 202).
 - (e) According to Firishta, Muẓaffar II. was born not in H. 880 but in H. 875.
 - (f) According to the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, Sikandar reigned for *two* months and sixteen days (Bi.-A. p. 232), and according to Firishta for *three* months and seventeen days (Br.-F. IV. 100).
 - (g) According to Firishta and the Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī, Maḥmūd III. ascended the throne not in H. 943 but in H. 944. The correct date is probably the end of H. 943.
 - (h) According to Firishta, Aḥmad III. died not in H. 968 but in H. 969. Silver coins, however, of Muẓaffar III., the successor of Aḥmad III., are known, dated H. 968 (see Plate VI., No. 71), agreeing thus with the Mir'āt i Aḥmadī which assigns to that year both the death of Aḥmad III. and the accession of Muẓaffar III. (Bi.-A. pp. 283, 287).
2. Of the fifteen Sultāns, the coins of nine are illustrated on the accompanying plates. Nos. 1-6 are of Aḥmad I.'s reign, Nos. 7-10a of Muḥammad II.'s, Nos. 11-14 of Aḥmad II.'s, Nos. 15-43 of Maḥmūd I.'s, Nos. 44-50 of Muẓaffar II.'s, Nos. 51-57 of Bahādur's, Nos. 58-66 of Maḥmūd III.'s, Nos. 67-70a of Aḥmad III.'s, Nos. 71-78 of Muẓaffar III.'s first reign, and Nos. 79 and 80 of his second reign.

I have never come across a single coin of any of the remaining six kings. Of these six Muẓaffar I. reigned for three years and eight months, but the aggregate length of the reigns of the other five (Muḥammad I., Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II., and Muḥammad (III.) was less than one year. The histories are silent as to any coin having been struck by Dā'ūd or Sikandar, or Maḥmūd II.; but distinct evidence is to hand that Muḥammad I., Muẓaffar I., and Muḥammad III. did, all three, issue coins in their own names.

(a) Of Tātār Khān, Firishṭa records: "He dignified his uncle "Shams Khān with the title of Nuṣrat Khān, and causing "himself to be proclaimed king, coined money under the "name of Muḥammad Shāh Gujarātī" (Br.-F. IV. 9).

(b) The Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī states: "Zafar Khān, having assumed "the title of Muẓaffar Shāh, struck coins in his own "name, and appointed his grandson Aḥmad Shāh to "succeed him as his heir" (Bi.-A. pp. 183, 184).

(c) The following is Firishṭa's reference to a currency issued in the name of Muḥammad III.: "The Gujarāt officers, "convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Mirān "Muḥammad Khān of Khāndesh, nephew of Bahādur "Shāh, who was then in Mālwa, to ascend the throne; "and, without any further hesitation, coins were struck "and public prayers read in his name" (Br.-F. IV. 142).

3. It is worthy of special note that the Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī has an express statement to the effect that during a rebellion in the reign of Maḥmūd III., coins were issued in the name of a Sultān Muẓaffar. The passage reads as follows:—"One day had elapsed before Daryā "Khān became acquainted with the Sultān's flight, and he was now "at a loss how to proceed. As he was in possession of the treasure "he elevated to the throne a grandson of Sultān Aḥmad II., and "having entitled him Sultān Muẓaffar (III.), caused the currency to be "struck, and the oration at the mosque to be pronounced in his "name" (Bi.-A. pp. 258, 259).

No specimen of these coins is now known.

4. Was there a Pretender "Muhammad" Sultān who caused coin to be struck in his own name in H. 963 (A. D. 1555—1556)?

(a) Mr. E. E. Oliver in his article on "the Coins of the Muḥammadan Kings of Gujarāt" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889), assigns, though doubtfully No. 28 of his collection to this 'Muḥammad Shāh (?)

Pretender." If, however, that coin be, as seems almost certain, identical with the billon coins Nos. 15a and 15b given on the accompanying Plate II., its legends read as follow:—

Obverse: Nūṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh ;

Reverse: Akh Qutb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh al Sultān ۸۶۳
Maḥmūd Shāh, Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, 863.

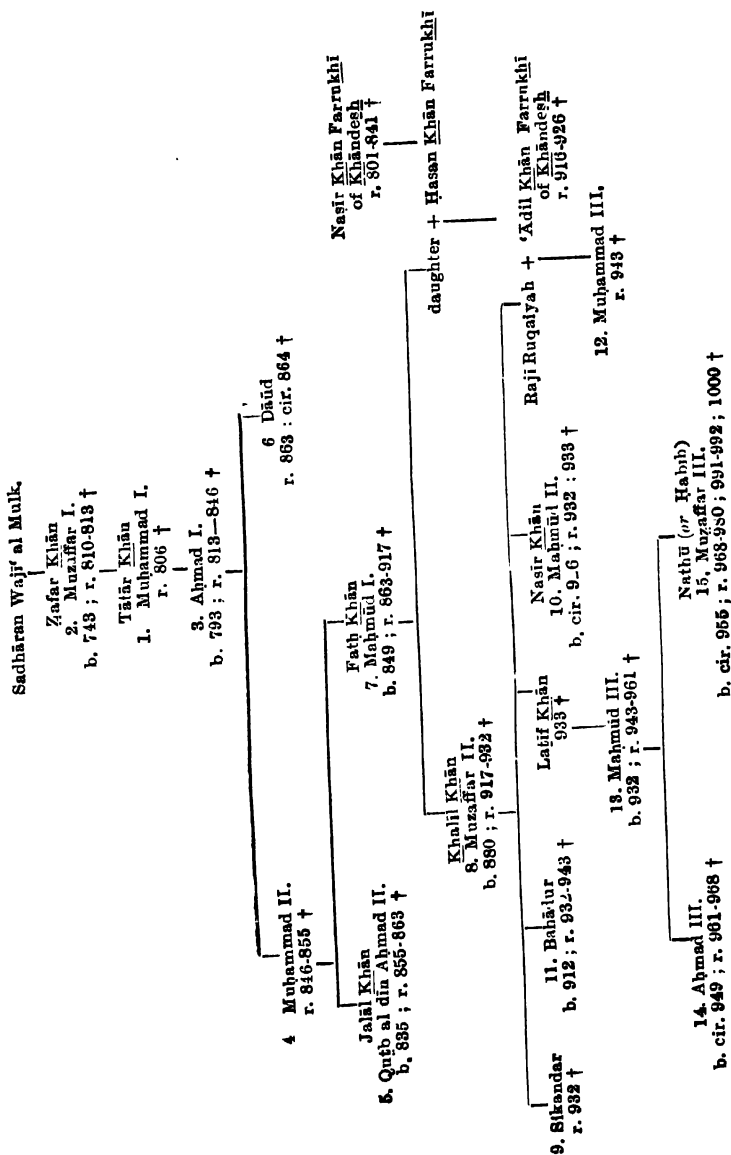
This coin was thus struck by Maḥmūd I (Begaḍā) in the first year of his reign, H. 863 (A. D. 1458-1459), and has no connexion whatsoever with a Pretender, later by exactly a century (H. 963).

(b) In the British Museum Catalogue, three copper coins, Nos. 437, 438 and 439, are doubtfully assigned to a "Muḥammad Shāh, Pretender (?)."

1. Of these, No. 439 is a square coin, the *only* square coin of the Gujarāt series in the British Museum Collection. Thomas, on page 353 of his "Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings," refers to "square coins, A. H. 856 ?" struck by Muḥammad II. But that Sultān died in H. 855, thus in the year preceding the issue of this coin. I have myself never seen a square coin of the Gujarāt Sultānat.

2. The reverse of all the three coins is very unlike that of any of the Gujarāt coins of the Saltānat period. Save these three, I know of none with a double parallel line as diameter, none with "several ornaments," and none with the Hijrī year entered quite in the *upper* portion of the reverse field. The "type" is foreign to Gujarāt.

For these reasons I am of opinion that Nos. 437, 438 and 439 of the British Museum Catalogue are not coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat at all. Further, none of the extant histories makes reference to a Pretender Muḥammad Shāh asserting claim to the throne of Gujarāt in H. 963: and, apart from the above three doubtful coins, there is, so far as I can learn, no evidence whatsoever in proof of the existence of the hypothetical Pretender. It is true that in the early part of the reign of Aḥmad III—thus about H. 963—the "person named Shāhū" did head a rebellion: but no evidence is to hand that he assumed the name of Sultān Muḥammad, or that in this name he caused coins to be struck. Thus to identify him with the Pretender Muḥammad is certainly unsafe.

III.—Genealogical Table of the *Gujarāt Saltanah*.

Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt Saltānat.

1. Grave doubt attaches to the pedigree as given in this "Table" of Aḥmad III. and Muẓaffar III.

- (a) According to the *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*, Aḥmad III. was "son of " Laṭīf Khān, who was grandson of Shukār Khān, the son " of Sultān Aḥmad I. " (*Bi.-A.* p. 273).

The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* calls this Aḥmad (III) merely "a relative of the Sultān Maḥmūd III." (*Ba.-S.* p. 454); and Colonel Watson in his *History* styles him vaguely "a descendant of the stock of Aḥmad Shāh" (*W.-B. G.* p. 259).

- (b) The following are the terms of the reference in the *Mir'āti Aḥmadī* to the parentage of Muẓaffar III :— "According to the faith of most historians, Ētimād Khān, who " had all the power of government in his hands, seeing " that there were none of the late Sultān's relations fit " for government, produced a young boy named Nathū : " and, having in open assembly taken an oath that such " was the son of Sultān Maḥmūd III., he explained that " his mother, when pregnant, had been delivered over to " him for the purpose of procuring an abortion ; but that " this child had been brought forth, as, five months of her " pregnancy having passed, no abortion could take place. " He said, moreover, that he had brought him up in " secret, and that there was no heir to the Government " excepting him. Every one, assenting to this, and " supporting his claim to the throne, entitled him " Muẓaffar Shāh." (*Bi.-A.* pp. 287-288).

Abu'l Fazl states that the child Nathū "did not belong to the line of kings," but that the Amīrs "had to believe" Ētimād's story (*Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbarī* I. 385, 386).

Firishṭa gives the birth-name of this Muẓaffar (III) as "Hubboo, a familiar contraction of Hubeeb," meaning "affectionate" (*Br.-F.* IV. 155).

2. On many of the coins struck in their several reigns, Maḥmūd (I) is called bin Muḥammad, Muḥaffar (II) bin Maḥmūd, Bahādur bin Muḥaffar, Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf, Ahmad (III) bin Maḥmūd, and Muḥaffar (III) bin Maḥmūd. On the other hand it would seem that, with the sole exception of a silver piece of H. 828, on none of the coins issued by Aḥmad (I), or Muḥammad (II), or Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad (II) was the name of the father of the reigning Sultān indicated.

3. (a) Of coins bearing inscriptions of a genealogical character, far and away the most remarkable and interesting in my collection is the silver piece presented to me last year (1901) by my kind friend, H. Nelson Wright, Esq., I.C.S., of Allahābād. It is pictured on Plate IV., No. 51. Struck in H. 933 by the Sultān Bahādur, its obverse and reverse, read consecutively, trace his pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I), the founder of the dynasty. Bahādur Shāh is thus termed "bin Muḥaffar Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh, bin Muḥaffar Shāh."

(b) On the silver coin of H. 828 represented on page 352 of Thomas's "Chronicles," Aḥmad (I)'s much shorter pedigree back to Muḥaffar (I) is thus given:—Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muḥaffar Shāh.

(c) On the billon coin of Maḥmūd (I), struck in H. 863 (Plate II, Nos. 15a, 15b), his relationship to the two preceding Sultāns is indicated as follows:—

Aḥ Quṭb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh,

Brother of Quṭb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

IV. *Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Saltānat.*

But little has hitherto been published on the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. The chief modern contributions to the literature on this subject are the following five:—

1. "The Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Dehlī" by Edward Thomas (1871), in which pages 350-353 are devoted to "the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt." A chronological list of the Sultāns is given, in which, strange to say, the name of Muḥammad I. (Tātār Khān) does not appear. In all forty-eight coins are briefly specified. Two of

these are illustrated by beautifully clear woodcuts, namely, a silver coin of Aḥmad Shāh, dated H. 828, and a gold coin of Maḥmud bin Latīf of H. 960. One could wish that pictures had also been given of the "square coins, A. H. 856?" and especially of the "Maḥmūd II. Silver," inasmuch as, in the absence of further evidence, the specification of these coins is open to grave doubt.

2. The chapters on the Coins of Gujarāt, pages lvii-lxi and 131-143, in the "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," Vol. II., Muḥammadan States, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1885). The introductory portion is helpful for the information given regarding the legends on the Gujarāt coins. Especially noteworthy is Dr. Rieu's decipherment of the distich on the obverse and reverse of the large copper coins struck during the reign of Muḥammad II. See Plate I., Nos. 8a, 8b. Forty-one coins are catalogued, ten of them being also photographed. The two undated coins, numbered 435 and 436, are incorrectly assigned to the Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from H. 961 till H. 968. Their legends are clearly identical with those of coin No. 11 in this article, and the coins themselves were thus doubtless struck during the reign of the earlier Aḥmad (Qutb al dīn), A. H. 855-863. The three coins, Nos. 437, 438, 439, which Lane-Poole assigns with some hesitation to "Muḥammad Shāh Pretender(?)" are probably foreign to Gujarāt.
3. An admirable article entitled "Coins of the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt," contributed by E. E. Oliver to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. lviii., Part I., No. 1—1889. The four pages of historical introduction are followed by "a genealogical tree of the Gujarāt Kings, and a table showing the contemporary rulers in Mālwa, Jaunpūr, Khāndesh, the Deccan, and Dehli, taken from Lane-Poole's very handy graphic "scheme of the Muḥammadan dynasties of India." Three plates supply rather roughly executed woodcuts of thirty-four coins, each of which is fully described, though not

without occasional mislections. The coins numbered 6 and 7 are not of the Aḥmadābād but of the Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr Mint. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are Bahmanī coins, and Nos. 16 and 17 are almost certainly not of Gujarāt. No. 27, which is of precisely the same type as No. 13 of Plate I. of the present article, is a coin of Qutb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh, not of the later Aḥmad (III.). No. 28, whose true date is H. 863, not H. 963, was struck not by "Muḥammad Shāh (?) Pretender," but by Maḥmūd Shāh I. Cf. Nos. 15a and 15b on Plate II of this article. Nos. 29 and 30, being Jāmshāī Koris of Navānagar, are incorrectly assigned to Muẓaffar, the last Sultān of Gujarāt.

4. The "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," Part I., by Chas. J. Rodgers (1894). This portion of the Calcutta Museum Catalogue contains on pages 130—131 a chronological list of the kings of Gujarāt, and a description of twenty-two coins, three of which are represented by photo-etching. Here again two of Qutb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh's coins are assigned to the later Aḥmad Shāh. The three undated coins, 7214-7216, I am inclined to attribute to Maḥmūd bin Latīf rather than to Maḥmūd II, and No. 8684 to Muẓaffar III. rather than to "Muḥammad Shāh (Interloper)."
5. "The Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Panjāb," Part II. (1894). Of this catalogue pages 132-134 contain a description of sixteen copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. No. 15, the same as No. 437 of the British Museum Catalogue, assigned to Muḥammad Shāh Pretender, should probably be relegated to some non-Gujarātī series, perhaps to that of Mālwa.

V. *Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat.*

In writing the present article, I have depended not only upon my own cabinet of coins, but upon the aggregate resulting from combining all the collections of which catalogues have been published. Of

the different cabinets thus laid under contribution, the following table indicates the contents :—

Cabinet.	Gold.	Silver.	Billon.	Copper.	Total.
Thomas	6	12	1	29	48
British Museum	8	6	0	27	41
Oliver	0	14	0	20	34
Calcutta Museum	2	1	0	19	22
Lāhor Museum	0	0	0	16	16
Taylor	0	113	11	259	423
Resultant Aggregate	9	116	12	303	440

The resultant collection contains no coin of the following years :—
H. 860, 866, 871, 875, 876, 877, 878, 953, and 975 : thus in all between H. 828 (seemingly the first year when dated coins were issued in Gujarāt) and H. 980, nine years are unrepresented by any coin in any of the metals.

The sixteen gold coins in the above Cabinets are as follow :—

	Muzaffar II.	Mahmūd III.	Muzaffar III.
British Museum	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		
Thomas ...	929, 946, 947,	950,	960, 977
Calcutta Museum	947,	960	
Resultant Aggregate ..	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		977

The twelve billon coins are five of the reign of Qutb al dīn Aḥmad II (85x, 861, 862, and two undated) and seven of the reign of Mahmūd I. (863, 863, 864, 865, 867, 869, and 870).

In the aggregate collection the first dated coin in gold is of the year H. 920, in silver of H. 828 (followed, *longo intervallo*, by one of H. 884), in billon of H. 85x, and in copper of H. 829.

VI. *Mint-towns.*

Of the coins struck in Gujarāt during the reign of Aḥmad I., a large number have in the obverse margins an inscription recording Aḥmadnagar (Īdar) as their place of mintage. Subsequent to Aḥmad's death, comparatively few coins bear any mint-name, and of those in which it is present nearly all are of the reign of Maḥmūd I. There are only four cities in Gujarāt, of which we can confidently affirm that during the period of the Saltānat mints were established in them, and were for at least a few years in active operation. These four are the two cities founded by Aḥmad—Aḥmadābād and Aḥmadnagar—and the two founded by Maḥmūd—Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād (Chāmpānīr). It is doubtful whether a fifth mint was opened at Khānpūr, a small town on the River Mahi. We proceed to treat of each of these five :—

1. Aḥmadābād : احمد آباد, founded A. H. 813; A. D. 1411.

Epithets : a. شهر معظم *Shahr mu'azzam*, the great city.

b. دارالضرب *Dār al Ḍarb*, the seat of the mint.

So far as I am aware, no silver coin of the Gujarāt Saltānat struck during the period of its independence bears Aḥmadābād as the name of its mint-town. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 in Oliver's article are indeed, assigned by him to that city, but the representations of these coins given in his Plate I. show that certainly two of the three, and in all probability the third also, issued not from the Aḥmadābād mint, but from that at Muḥammadābād.

The only copper coins that seem to bear the mint-name *Shahr mu'azzam* Aḥmadābād are a few struck by Muẓaffar III. in the years H. 977, 978. One of these is shown as No. 75 of Plate VI. of the present article. After comparing six, all of the same type, in my collection I incline to accept their marginal legend as reading شهر معظم احمد آباد.

Just possibly also the name Aḥmadābād may occupy the upper margin of the obverse of the copper coin struck in H. 970 and shown on Plate VI., No. 73.

The second epithet of Aḥmadābād, *Dār al Ḍarb*, is present on several of the coins that Akbar caused to be struck at the Aḥmadābād

mint after his conquest of Gujarāt in H. 980.* Muzaffar III., during the few months of his second reign in H. 991, evidently followed the example thus set by the Mughal Emperor, so that the few surviving coins of H. 991, whether in silver or in copper, bearing the Sultān Muzaffar's name, all specify their place of mintage under its full designation of دارالضرب احمدآباد. See Plate VI., Nos. 79 and 80.

It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarāt Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years 970, 977, 978, and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarāt coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Almadābād mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarāt, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarāt would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.

2. Almadnagar (Īdar): احمدنگر, founded A.H. 829; A.D. 1425.

Epithet (doubtful): شهر مہانور Shahr Mahānūr, the city of great light.

What precisely was the honorific epithet assigned to the city of Almadnagar is difficult of determination from its coins. They clearly bear on their obverse margins the words احمدنگر شهر, followed by a term which on some of the specimens to hand resembles مہانور. But the combination شهر مہانور is certainly a strange one to be adopted as the title for a mint-town. I confess I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this reading more especially as on several of the coins it seems doubtful whether the letters as there given admit of being read as Mahānūr. Compare Plate I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

From the founding of Almadnagar in H. 829 right on till Almad Shāh's death in H. 846, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Almadnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Almad I. was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears

* On other coins of Akbar, Almadābād is styled دارالخلافۃ, the Seat of the Caliphate, or دارالسلطنۃ, the Seat of the Empire, and on a rupee of Bafī' al Darajāt زینت البلاد the Beauty of Towas.

to have issued from it subsequent to Aḥmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Aḥmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Aḥmad I.

3. Muṣṭafābād : مصطفى باد, founded A. H. 871 ; A. D. 1469.

Epithet : شہر اعظم *Shahr a'zam*, the very great city.

My collection contains only one silver coin certainly bearing the mint-name Muṣṭafābād—an excellent specimen, dated H. 884. Unfortunately it came into my possession too late to admit of its being photographed for Plate II. of this article. It is a small coin, 6 inch in diameter, and weighing only 63 grains. Its obverse closely resembles that of No. 25, and its reverse (save for the date) is identical with that of No. 22.

The pretty little silver piece of the year H. 894, No. 29 on Plate III., I assign, but with some hesitancy, to Muṣṭafābād. Two of the margins contain the words شہر اعظم, but whether the remaining two give the reading مصطفى باد is not equally clear.

No. 36 on Plate III. is also a somewhat puzzling silver coin, but this too I assign provisionally to the Muṣṭafābād mint. Its date, given on the reverse, is H. 905.

The copper coins that issued from this mint during the last quarter of the ninth century (Hijrī) must have been fairly numerous, every year (except 881) from 879 till 892 being represented in my cabinet. The latest of the series is dated seemingly H. 906. Five of these are shown on Plate II., Nos. 21-25, though No. 22 is open to question, the upper margin (obverse) not being decipherable with absolute certainty. The variety of designs in these Muṣṭafābād coins of Maḥmūd I. is noteworthy. In No. 21 the mint with its epithet *Shahr a'zam* occupies the margin circumscribing a circular area : in Nos. 22 (?) and 25 the mint-name is still relegated to the margin, but now we have the four margins that bound a square area : while lastly in Nos. 23 and 24, which exhibit no margin at all, the place of mintage is recorded in full as an integral part of the obverse legend. The two coins of H. 971, numbered 447 and 448, in the British Museum Catalogue, Muḥammadan States, doubtfully assigned to Muṣṭafābād, are, it seems, of the same type as that shown on Plate VI. as No. 78.

4. Muḥammadābād : محمد آباد, founded A. H. 889 ; A. D. 1484.

Epithet : شہر مکرم *Shahr mukarram*, the illustrious city.

This name, it will be remembered, was given to the city of Chāmpānīr on its capitulation to Maḥmūd I. in 1484 at the close of a protracted siege. Chāmpānīr—Chāmpā's city—is supposed to have derived its name from Chāmpā, the Hindū founder of the town, which dates as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era. And it is by this name of Chāmpānīr alone that the city, now a desolate ruin, "except for a few Bhīl and Nāikda squatters," is known to-day. The coins struck at its mint record the name generally in its doubled form محمدآباد عری چانپانیر Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr, but occasionally, it would seem, the "*alias* Chāmpānīr" was dropped and the new name Muḥammadābād alone retained. Compare Plate III., Nos. 34 and 39, and contrast with No. 33. Whether the full, or the shortened, designation was on the die from which the imperfect coins Nos. 31 and 41 were struck is difficult to say, but, from the general resemblance between these and No. 34, it seems probable that the lost margins did contain the words عری چانپانیر. The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and the most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muḥammadābād, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Maḥmūd I. The earliest of its coins in my collection is dated H. 895, the latest H. 904, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the whole period during which the mint was working does not cover more than five and twenty years, say H. 890—915.

In one year subsequent to this period coins were again struck at the Chāmpānīr mint, but these can scarcely be classed among the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. In H. 942 the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn swooped down upon the province, and gained possession of this important frontier-city. In commemoration of his victory, he forthwith caused coins to be struck both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humāyūn's name, which is wanting on the copper: also on the silver the mint-town is given as simply Chāmpānīr (with the first vowel short), while in the copper is added the

epithet Shahr mukarram. On neither the silver nor the copper, however, do we find the name Muhammadābād, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lāhor Museum is of especial interest as briefly recording the conquest of Chāmpānīr. Its obverse reads قنیم چنپانیر بتاریخ ۹۴۲ and the reverse simply ضرب شهر مکرّم

In another coin of the same year, H. 942, Chāmpānīr is styled شهر الزمان, the City of the Age. See British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, No. 1232.

5. Regarding the existence of mints at Aḥmadābād, Aḥmadnagar, Muṣṭafūbūd and Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr, no manner of doubt can be entertained, but whether there was at any time a fifth mint at Khānpūr, خانپور, is a debatable question. On the Coin No. 44, Plate IV., the upper part of the obverse inscription clearly reads Al Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh: but what of the lower part? The date is certainly 921, and on two other coins of the same type now in my possession is also certainly 922. The decipherment of the words immediately above the date has proved very baffling to me: but quite the best of various suggested readings is the one submitted by my friend, Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. He reads the words as ضربت خانپور, Darbat Khānpūr, 'Struck at Khānpūr', and unquestionably the coins of H. 922, even better than the H. 921 coin shown on Plate IV., bear out this reading. Accepting it, we should on the evidence of these three coins add Khānpūr to the list of the mint-towns in Gujarāt, and should assign as the minimum period of the mint's activity the years H. 921 and 922. Khānpūr, or, to give it its full name, Khānpūr Wānkānīr, is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi, and about midway between Baroda to the south and Dākor to the north. Here it was that in H. 855 Maḥmūd (I.) Khaljī, Sultān of Mālwa, encamped his army of invasion after plundering the city of Baroda. Subsequently, however, he marched northwards to Kapaḍwanj, where Qutb-al-dīn, the newly-chosen Sultān of Gujarāt, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Khānpūr again figures, though not prominently, in the intrigues that attended the accession of Bahādur Shāh in H. 932: and, late in the same reign, the Sultān, while at this place, appointed two of his most trusted officers to lead a strong army against the country of Bāgar, East of Īdar. I have failed, however, to discover a single reference to this Khānpūr in the histories of the reign of Muẓaffar II.

(A.H. 917-932), and am unable to suggest any reason for his having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint.

Lane-Poole has assigned, though doubtfully, a Gujarātī copper coin of H. 971 to the mint-town Shādiābād.^{*} This reading must, I feel sure, be abandoned. Shādiābād is not in Gujarāt at all : but the name does occur on several of the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Mālwa. Firishtā explicitly records as follows the origin of this epithet :—"Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, "Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and, assuming the title of "Sooltan Mahomed Ghoozy, ordered that his capital might "henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or 'the City of Joy'; and "public prayers were read and coin struck in his name."[†]

The following table gives the years of the *dated* coins in my collection that record their mints :—

Mint.	Silver.	Copper.
Aḥmadnagar	None.	Each year from 829 till 846.
Muṣṭafābād	884, 894?, 905?	879, 880, each year from 882 till 892, 906?
Muḥammadiābād (with or without the 'urf <u>Chām-pānir</u>).	895, 896, 897, 898, 900, 902, 903, 904.	None.
Khānpūr ??	921, 922	None.
Aḥmadābād	991... ..	970 ? 977 ? 978 ? and one coin undated but doubtless struck in 991.

Of the first four mints in this table, not one seems to have been active for more than a very limited period, and I feel sure that all coins that do not themselves record their place of mintage may safely be assigned to the mint at Aḥmadābād. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in Akbar's time at least this city, the erewhile capital of the Gujarāt Saltanat, bore the title of Dār al Darb, 'the Seat of the Mint'.

* British Museum Catalogue of Indian coins, Muhammadan States, No. 446. This coin is not improbably the same as No. 78 on Plate VI. of the present article.

† Br.-F. IV., 191.

VII.—Weights and Standards.

As to the existence of any square coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat I am very sceptical. If any such were issued, their number was extremely small. Certainly the typical coins of the period were, with more or less precision, round in shape. The following lists, based upon measurements and weightments of copper coins, all of the reign of Ahmad I, demonstrate the futility of the attempt to classify them according to the length of their diameters. These lists show not only that coins of the same diameter may vary widely in their weights, but also that comparatively light coins may have a large, and comparatively heavy coins a small, diameter.

Diameter of .8 inch : weight in grains 146, 143.

„	.75	„	„	„	146, 142, 140, 138.
„	.7	„	„	„	145, 70, 69, 68, 67, 56.
„	.65	„	„	„	142, 140, 138, 73, 72, 71, 69, 67, 66, 64, 61.
„	.6	„	„	„	70, 61, 57, 55.
„	.55	„	„	„	70, 69, 34, 26.
„	.5	„	„	„	35, 33, 31, 30.
„	.45	„	„	„	34.
„	.4	„	„	„	32.

Diameter of .55 inch : weight in grains 26.

„	.5	„	„	„	30.
„	.45	„	„	„	34.
„	.4	„	„	„	32.

Diameter of .7 inch : weight in grains 56.

„	.65	„	„	„	61.
„	.6	„	„	„	70.
„	.55	„	„	„	70.

Diameter of .75 inch : weight in grains 138.

„	.7	„	„	„	145.
„	.65	„	„	„	142.

The fact is the "make" of these coins is quite too rough, and their thickness too arbitrary, to admit of their classification by size. It is, I am convinced, only by a comparison of the *weights* of the coins that we may hope to arrive at an approximately correct classification.

Regarding the gold coins, indeed, no difficulty presents itself. In all only nine varieties have hitherto been catalogued, and of these seven weigh 185 grains each, one 179, and one 177. Clearly all the nine are thus of one and the same denomination.

But when we pass on to the consideration of the silver and copper coins of Gujarāt, it becomes no easy matter to determine the different denominations current at one period or another, and the standard weight of each. So far as I am aware, no mint-records have survived to the present day, and of the coins themselves that have come down to us many are such poor specimens, so worn and battered through the vicissitudes of four hundred years, that one can at times do no more than hazard a guess as to their original weight. Certainly a large margin must be allowed for loss, but no data are available for determining the percentage of the total weight that may fairly be deducted over against such loss. Some proportion, however, must be postulated, and it has seemed to me that for the lighter copper coins we shall be within the mark if we assume that the loss through wear may equal one-seventh of the original full weight. The proportionate loss in the heavier copper coins and in all the silver, which were certainly in less circulation than the copper, would probably be not quite so large, and I have accordingly assumed that for these coins the loss by wear would not exceed one-tenth. Accepting these assumptions, a copper coin of originally, say, 49 grains in weight may be supposed to weigh now anything between 49 and 42 grains, and a copper, or silver, coin of originally, say, 150 grains may weigh anything between 150 and 135 grains.

Further, it is every way probable that some unit of weight was adopted such that the original weights of the coins of different denominations, when issuing from the mint, should be certain integral multiples of that unit. A careful study of the weights of the different coins in my collection inclines me to the opinion that both for silver and for copper this unit was 7·4 grains, or precisely four *ratīs*, on the basis of Mr. Maskelyne's estimate of the weight of a *rati*. Of

this unit the following multiples are represented in the silver coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat : —

5, 10, 15, 20; 6, 12, 24; 8, 16, 32;

and in copper the multiples are

4, 8; 5, 10, 20, 30, 45; 6, 12, 24;

thus evidencing ten different denominations both in silver and in copper. It does not seem, however, that coins of all these denominations were current simultaneously. The long reign of Maḥmūd I supplies us seven denominations of silver coins and the same number of copper; but in no other reign were coins struck of so many denominations. In the two following tables the silver and the copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat are classified by weight. In these tables any two numbers connected by a hyphen indicate the superior and inferior limits of weight expressed in grains, and a subscribed number in brackets represents the number of coins known to me between these limits. Thus $\frac{111-107}{(18)}$ means 18 coins ranging in weight from 111 to 107 grains. For the rest, the tables are self-explanatory.

Unit = 74 grains		5	6	8	10	12	15	16	20	24	32	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations
...	...	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.	units.		
SILVER	...	37 to 31.7	44.4 to 38.1	59.2 to 50.7	74 to 68.4	88.8 to 76.1	111 to 100	118.4 to 106.6	148 to 133	177.6 to 160	236.8 to 213.2	8. 16. 32. 5. 10. 15. 20. 6. 12. 24.	10
{ grains, grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. grains. }													
Ahmad I	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	175-172 (2)	...	24.	1
Muhammad II	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	146-137 (5)*	...	...	...	Nil
Qutb al din Ahmad II.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	146-138 (8)	176-160 (6)	...	20.	1
Mahmūd I	...	33 (1)	44-43 (3)	57 (1)	66-63 (11)	88-80 (31)	...	...	...	...	...	8. 5. 10. 20. 6. 1 4.	7
Muzaffar II	...	...	...	...	...	81 (1)	111-104 (16)	...	...	...	...	15. 13.	2
Bahādur	...	34 (1)	...	...	...	...	111 (1)	...	...	...	...	5. 15.	2
Mahmūd III	...	...	...	57-54 (3)	66 (1)	...	109-101 (3)	117-110 (7)	137 (1)	...	...	8. 16. 10. 15. 20.	5
Ahmad III	...	...	...	53 (1)	...	...	...	110-107 (4)	...	168-164 (2)	232 (1)	8. 16. 32. 24.	4
Muzaffar III	...	33 (1)	...	...	74-67 (12)	...	104 (1)	114-110 (4)	...	174-170 (2)	...	16. 5. 10. 15. 24.	5

* These five coins are of billon.

Unit = 7.4 grains	4 units.	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	20 units.	24 units.	30 units.	45 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denom- inations.
Copper	29.6 to 25.4 grains.	37 to 31.7 grains.	44.4 to 38.1 grains.	59.2 to 50.7 grains.	74 to 63.4 grains.	88.8 to 76.1 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177.6 to 160 grains.	222 to 200 grains.	333 to 300 grains.	4. 8. 5. 10. 20. 30. 45. 6. 12. 24.	10
Ahmad I	26 (1)	35.31 (7)		57.55 (3)	73.64 (18)		116-135 (15)				4. 8. 5. 10. 20.	5
Muhammad II		32 (1)			73.64 (9)		143-136 (3)		215-210 (15)		5. 10. 20. 30.	4
Quṭb al dīn Ahmad II					70.07 (3)		145-137 (11)		210 (1)		10. 20. 30.	3
Mahmūd I			41 (1)		70.65 (6)	85.80 (8)	147-135 (16)	176-162 (16)	220-205 (40)	318 (1)	10. 20. 30. 45. 6. 12. 24.	7
Muzaffar II					72.67 (4)	83 (1)	139 (1)	176-164 (11)	218-216 (2)		10. 20. 30 12. 24.	5
Bahādur				53 (1)		85.77 (3)	146-135 (5)	172-165 (5)	217-205 (14)		8. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5
Mahmūd III				52 (1)	73.65 (7)	87 (1)	147-141 (10)		216-200 (4)		8. 10. 20. 30. 12.	5
Ahmad III					74.64 (5)	86.81 (8)	145-136 (7)	176-163 (13)	219-214 (6)		10. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5
Muzaffar III					67 (1)	86.80 (5)	146-135 (8)	177-162 (19)	214 (2)		10. 20. 30. 12. 24.	5

That there should be so many as ten different denominations of silver coins, and the same number of copper is of itself a sufficiently formidable objection to the classification here tabulated; but what more than all else imparts to me in this connexion a certain sense of defeat is the fact that there still remain over a few coins that cannot be assigned a place in any of the above classes. Some indeed of the much worn copper specimens would find admission if the proportions of one-seventh and one-tenth, which we conjectured might perhaps represent the loss by wear, were slightly increased; but even after subtracting these we have a small irreducible residuum of coins that are, with only one exception, in good condition, yet all of eccentric weight. Three such are of silver. One undated, but of Muẓaffar II's reign, is but slightly worn, and weighs 92 grains: so that its proper place would be in a 13-unit class. The second is the unique, and every way extraordinary coin of Bahādur, dated H. 933, and shown on Plate IV, No. 51. In fairly good condition, it now weighs 130 grains, and is thus suggestive of an 18-unit class. The third, also in good condition, would fall into the same class, as its weight is 131 grains. This coin was struck by Maḥmūd III in H. 960.

The "irreducibles" in copper are the following four:—

Bahādur, H. 943, much worn, yet weighing 257 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 944, a good specimen, 237 grains in weight (Plate V, No. 58).

Maḥmūd III, H. 947, weighing in its present fair condition 151 grains.

Maḥmūd III, H. 948, a coin not of pure copper, but of mixed metal, weighing 132 grains (Plate V, No. 61).

These four coins suggest classes of 40 (or 38), 33, 22 and 18 units respectively.

From the above discussion it would seem safe to draw the following as approximately correct general conclusions—any more precise statement being as yet unwarranted:

- (a) Of silver coins there are at least six different classes, the weights ranging between 60-80, 90-60, 120-100, 150-130, 180-160, and 240-220 grains.
- (b) In copper also the denominations were at least six, represented by the weights 60-25, 90-60, 150-130, 180-160, 220-200 and 330-300 grains.

VIII.— “Cumulative” Legends.

The legends on the different coins issued during the reign of any one Sultān are not all identical. Occasionally, indeed, one lights upon coins bearing distinctly exceptional legends, and each such coin naturally calls for special notice and detailed description. Leaving these, however, for the time being out of consideration, it will be found that on some of the coins of a given king, certain wonted phrases or titles are shown, and others on others. Now it has seemed to me that by merely massing, or combining, all this more or less normal legend-material, we shall obtain what we may call the ‘resultant’ or ‘cumulative’ coin-legend for each Sultān, which, as presenting a fairly complete register of the more usual coin-terms, may prove of service for purposes of reference. Accordingly, working on these lines, I have built up the following “cumulative” legends, distinctive of each of the nine Sultāns of Gujarāt whose coins have survived to the present day.

1. Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

2. Muḥammad II., 846—855.

Obverse : السلطان محمد شاه ابوالمحامد

Reverse : السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين

3. Quṭb al dīn Aḥmad II., A. H. 855—863.

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

Also Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلدت خلفته

4. Maḥmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse : الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلدت خلفته

Also Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Compare the reverse of the coins of Aḥmad I.

5. Muẓaffar II., A. H. 917—932.

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه*Reverse* : * شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن

6. Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان*Reverse* : قطب الدنيا والدين ايوالفضل

7. Maḥmūd III., A. H. 943—961.

Obverse : محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان*Reverse* : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المنان †

8. Aḥmad III., A. H. 961—968

Obverse : احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد [year]*Reverse* : فيث الدنيا والدين ابوالحامد المعتم ‡
بالله الرحمن ‡

9. Muẓaffar III., A. H. 968—980.

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان*Reverse* : * شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن

Compare the reverse of the coins of Muẓaffar II.

IX.—Catalogue of Coins on Plates I—VI.

Aḥmad I., A. H. 813—846.

No. 1. Copper: 142 grains: Mint? Date?

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان

with quatrefoil and circle over احمد ح

Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين

No. 2. Copper: 34 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse : احمد شاه

(with neither quatrefoil nor circle).

Reverse : السلطان (on Plate upside down).

No. 3. Copper: 138 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان*Reverse* : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

* المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن = The strengthened by the strengthening of the Merciful

† الواثق بالله المنان = The truster in Allah the Gracious.

‡ المعتم بالله الرحمن = The attendant on Allah the Merciful.

No. 4. Copper: 69 grains: [Ahmadnagar]: H. 830.

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه السلطان
upper margin شهر
left margin مهانور (P)

Reverse: ناصرالدنيا والدين ۸۳۰

No. 5. Copper: 135 grains: Ahmadnagar: H. 835.

Obverse: As 4, also lower margin احمد
right margin نگر

Reverse: As 4, but year ۸۳۵

No. 6. Copper: 142 grains: Ahmadnagar: H. 837.

Obverse: Square area as 4, lower and right margins as 5.

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصرالدنيا والدين ۸۳۷

* * * *

Muhammad II., A. H. 846—855.

No. 7. Copper: 143 grains: Mint?: H. [8]46.

Obverse: —۴۶ السلطان محمد شاه ابوالاحامد

Reverse: السلطان غياثالدنيا والدين

No. 8a. Copper: 210 grains: Mint?: H. 850.

Obverse: سکه سلطان غياثالدین محمد شاه باد ۸۵۰

No. 8b. Copper: 217 grains: Mint?: Date?

Reverse: تا بدارالضرب گردون قرص مهر و ماه باد

The legend on the obverse and reverse of No. 8 (a and b) forms the couplet,

May the coin of Muhammad Shāh the Sultān, the Aid of the Faith, remain,

So long as in the sphere of the Seat of the Mint the orb of the sun and moon remains.

No. 9. Copper: 69 grains: Mint: H. [8] 52.

Obverse: محمد شاه السلطان ۵۲—

Reverse: غياثالدنيا والدين

No. 10a. Copper: 69 grains: Mint?: H. 853.

Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ۸۵۳

* * * *

Qutb al dīn Aḥmad Shāh II., A. H. 855—863.

- No. 11. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 856.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ۸۵۶
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر
- No. 12. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 858.
Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ۸۵۸
- No. 13. Billon : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. 861.
Obverse : As 12.
Reverse : As 12, but year 861.
- No. 14. Copper : 70 grains : Mint : H. 85 x or 86 x.
Obverse : احمد شاه السلطان ۸۵—۵۲ ۸۶
Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين
 * * * *

Muḥmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

- No. 15a. Billon : 145 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه
Reverse : اخ قطب شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان ۸۶۳
 Muḥmūd Shāh, Defender of the World and of the
 Faith, Father of Victory,
 Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the
 Sultān.
- No. 15b. Billon : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. [8] 63.
Reverse : As 15a, but with top line clearer, and year—۶۳.
- No. 16. Billon : 139 grains : Mint ? : H. 863.
Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان
Reverse : As 12, but year ۸۶۳
- No. 17. Copper : 145 grains : Mint : H. [8] 64.
Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ۸۶۴—
- No. 18. Billon : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 867.
Obverse : As 17, with addition of year ۸۶۷
Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 19. Copper : 140 grains : Mint ? : H. 827 (for 867).
Obverse : As 18, but year ۸۲۷ (*sic*), doubtless for ۸۶۷
Reverse : As 18.

- No. 20a. Copper : 135 grains : Mint ? : H. 868:
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه ابوالفتح ٨٦٨
- No. 21. Copper : 175 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 870 or 879.
Obverse : Circular area السلطان محمود شاه
 Margin شهر اعظم مصطفى باد (?)
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٧٠ or ٨٧١.
- No. 22. Copper : 215 grains : perhaps Muṣṭafābād : H. 880.
Obverse : Square area السلطان محمود شاه
 left margin شهر
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٠
- No. 23. Copper : 171 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 882.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه شهر اعظم مصطفى باد
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٢
- No. 24. Copper : 172 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 883.
Obverse : As 23.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٣
- No. 25. Copper : 217 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 886.
Obverse : Square area السلطان محمود شاه
 upper margin مصطفى
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 17, but year ٨٨٦
- No. 26. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 890 or 900.
Obverse : square area having peaked sides السلطان محمود شاه
 lower margin ٨٩٠ or ٩٠٠
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 27. Silver : 80 grains : Mint ? : H. 891.
Obverse : Circular area السلطان محمود شاه (compare 21)
 margin illegible.
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٨٩١
- No. 28a. Copper : 65 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : [محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان]
- No. 29. Silver : 65 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 894.
Obverse : Square area السلطان محمود شاه
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and left margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ۸۹۳ (*sic*).

Outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 30. Copper : 220 grains : Mint ? : H. 896 or 897.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۸۹۶ (or ۸۹۷).

No. 31. Silver : 88 grains : Muhammadābād : H. 900.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مکرم
upper margin محمد باد
left margin illegible.
lower margin ۹۰۰

Reverse: As 26.

No. 32. Silver : 86 grains : Mint ? : H. 900.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
lower margin ۹۰۰
other margins illegible.

Outer linear and dotted circles.

Reverse: As 26, also outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 33. Silver : 87 grains : Muhammadābād : H. 902.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
right margin شهر مکرم
upper margin محمد
left margin باد (?)
lower margin سنه ۹۰۲

Reverse: As 26.

No. 34. Silver : 88 grains : Muhammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr :
H. 903.

Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
margins—lower, right, upper, left, lower—
ضرب شهر مکرم محمد آباد عرف چانپانیر ۹۰۳

Reverse: As 26.

No. 35. Silver : 65 grains : Mint ? : H. 904.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18, with addition of year ۹۰۴

No. 36. Silver : 89 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and right margins (doubtfully) مصطفى باد

Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٩٠٥
 and outer linear and dotted circles.

This coin is evidently closely related to No. 29.

No. 37. Copper : 318 grains : Mint ? : H. 905.

Obverse: Curved diamond area محمود شاه السلطان
 margin lower and to right ٩٠٥
 other margins illegible.

Reverse : As 26.

No. 38. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 912.

Obverse : Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٩١٢

No. 39. Silver : 176 grains : Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānūr :
 Date ?

Obverse : Scalloped circular area السلطان محمود شاه
 upper and left margins [نیر] محمد اباد عرف چانپا
 lower and right margins illegible.

Reverse : As 26.

No. 40. Silver : 160 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse : As 26.

No. 41. Silver : 85 grains : Muḥammadābād : Date ?

Obverse : Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 right margin شهر مکرم
 upper margin محمد اباد
 other margins illegible.

Reverse : As 26.

No. 42. Copper : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse : As 18.

No. 43. Copper: 168 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
margin illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

* * * * *

Muzaḥfar II, A. H. 917—932.

No. 44. Silver: 110 grains: Khānpūr? : H. 921.

[On the Plate the obverse and reverse of this coin occupy each the other's position.]

Obverse: * In wavy circle السلطان مظفر شاه ضربت خانبور
۹۲۱

Reverse: In plain circle المؤيد بقايد الرحمن شمس الدنيا
والدين ابوالنصر

No. 45. Copper: 173 grains: Mint?: H. 925.

Obverse: In square having doubled sides, each peaked :
مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۵

Reverse: As 44 (doubtful).

No. 46. Silver: 110 grains: Mint?: Date 927.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۷

Reverse: As 44.

No. 47. Silver: 104 grains: Mint?: H. 929.

Obverse: In circle circumscribing a square whose sides are peaked :

خلد الله (?) مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان ۹۲۹

Reverse: As 44, with outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 48. Silver: 106 grains: Mint?: H. 930.

Obverse: As 45, but year ۹۳۰

Reverse: As 44.

No. 49. Copper: 159 grains: Mint?: H. 932.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: شمس الدنيا و..... ابوالنصر ۹۳۲

No. 50. Silver: 107 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: In square having peaked sides :

السلطان مظفر شاه خلد الله ملكه

* The legend in the lower half of the obverse of this coin is doubtful. For the provisional reading here given I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

Reverse : As 44.

This coin may be of Muẓaffar III., to whom it is assigned in the Brit. Mus. Catal., Muhammadan States, No. 440.)

Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

No. 51.* Silver : 180 grains : Mint ? : H. 933.

Obverse : قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه

Reverse : بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ٩٣٣

No. 52. Copper : 172 grains : Mint ? : H. 934.

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
margin illegible.

Reverse : قطب الدنيا والدين [ابوالفضل] ٩٣٤

No. 53. Copper : 217 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : (?) بهادر بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ near the middle.

No. 54. Copper : 207 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : As 53.

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ at bottom.

No. 55. Silver : 84 grains : Mint ? : H. 941.

Obverse : In double circle, each scalloped, بهادر شاه

Reverse : In double circle, each scalloped, السلطان سنة ٩٤١

No. 56. Copper : 82 grains : Mint ? : H. 943.

Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٤٣

No. 57. Silver : 111 grains : Mint : H. [9]41 ?

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but date illegible — perhaps [٩]٤١

Malīmūd III, A. H. 943—961.

No. 58. Copper : 237 grains : Mint ? : H. 944.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٤٤
other margins illegible.

* This most interesting coin merits especial notice. Both it and No. 55 were presented to me by Mr. H. Nelson Wright of Allahābād.

- Reverse*: Square area
lower margin
other margins illegible. ناصر الدنيا والدين (شهر ٩١)
- No. 59. Copper: 154 grains: Mint ? : H. 945.
Obverse: محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح ٩٤٥
- No. 60. Mixed coppery metal: 147 grains: Mint ? : H. 94.
Obverse: In circular area محمود بن لطيف شاه السلطان
lower margin ٩٤٥
remainder of margin illegible.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
- No. 61. Mixed coppery metal: 132 grains: Mint ? : Date ١١٤٨.
Obverse: In circular area, as 60.
margin illegible.
Reverse: As 59, but year ٩٣٨
- No. 62. Copper: 144 grains: Mint ? : H. [9]55.
Obverse: Square area محمود شاه
right margin شهر
other margins illegible.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ده—
- No. 63. Silver: 113 grains: Mint ٩ : H. 957.
Obverse: In square having beaked sides,
محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان ٩٥٧
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله الممنان
- No. 64. Silver: 54 grains: Mint ? : H. 961.
Obverse: In circle محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه السلطان
margin illegible.
Reverse: الواثق بالله الممنان [ابوالفتح ناصر الدنيا والدين] ٩٦١
- No. 65. Silver: 111 grains: Mint ? : H. [95]9?
Obverse: As 64.
Reverse: As 64, but year—9 (doubtful).
- No. 66. Mixed bronze-like metal: 141 grains: Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse: In circle, as 60.
margin blank.
Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Ahmad III., A. H. 961—968.

- No. 67. Copper: 168 grains: Mint? : H. 961 or 964.

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: ٩٦٤ or ٩٦١ (٩) غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالحسام سنده

- No. 68. Silver: 222 grains: Mint? : H. 963.

Obverse: In square having double sides, each peaked,
احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عهد ٩٦٣

Reverse: غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالحسام المعتمد
بالله الرحمن

- No. 69a. Copper: 71 grains: Mint? : H. 963.

Obverse: احمد شاه ٩٦٣

- No. 70a. Copper: 217 grains: Mint? : Date?

Obverse: Square area احمد شاه
 margins illegible.

* * * * *

Muzaffar III., A. H. 968—980, and 991—992.

- No. 71. Silver: 110 grains: Mint? : H. 968.

Obverse: In square ٩٦٨ مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المؤيد بتائيد
[الرحمن]

- No. 72. Silver: 114 grains: Mint? : H. 969.

Obverse: In scalloped circle, as 71, but year ٩٦٩

Reverse: As 71.

- No. 73. Copper: 144 grains: Ahmadābād? : H. 970.

Obverse: Square area مظفر شاه ٩٧٠

margins illegible—perhaps traces of
شهر معظم احمد آباد

Reverse: شمس الدنيا [والدين] ابوالنصر

- No. 74a. Copper: 214 grains: Mint? : H. 971.

Obverse: In circle مظفر شاه ٩٧١

- No. 75. Copper: 175 grains: Ahmadābād: H. 977.

Obverse: Circular area مظفر شاه ٩٧٧

margins illegible, but, from comparison with other
 specimens of this type, would seem to read

شهر معظم احمد آباد

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين

Some unusual symbols are present in both the upper and the lower portions of the reverse.

No. 76. Silver : 67 grains : Mint ? : H. 978.

Obverse : Square area, peaked sides, مظفر شاه السلطان ۹۷۸
margins illegible.

Reverse : As 71.

No. 77. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse السلطان مظفر شاه

Reverse : شمس الدنيا والدين

No. 78. Copper : 148 grains : Mint ? : H. 971.

Obverse : In circle مظفر شاه ۹۷۱

Reverse : گردون ضرب باد نا قرص مهر وما

This reading of the difficult inscription on the reverse has been supplied by Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. If we may take گردون ضرب as a periphrasis for "coin," the legend reads, 'May the coin remain as long as the orb of the sun and moon.' There seems to be some connexion between this inscription and that on 86.

No. 79.* Silver : 174 grains : Aḥmadābād : H. 991.

Obverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,

السلطان مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ۹۹۱

lower margin احمد اباد

other margins illegible.

Reverse : In double linear square with dots between the lines,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله the kalimah

upper margin (probably) بصدق ابي بكر

right margin (probably) بعدل عمر

other margins illegible.

No. 80.* Copper : 85 grains : Aḥmadābād : [H. 991].

Obverse : مظفر شاه بن محمود [شاه]

Reverse : دارالضرب احمد اباد

* * * * *

* Coins Nos. 79 and 80 were struck during Muzaffar III's second reign, A. H. 991-992.

No. 81. Silver: 72 grains: Mint?: Date?

Obverse: श्रीराजधर मङ्गर शाह ०५८ or ११८ (for १५८)

Reverse: As 72, but the legend is very degenerate.

A Kaṭār, or Rājput dagger, is represented in the lower part of the field of the reverse.

This coin is a Kacch Koī, struck during the reign of Rāyadhaṇ—probably Rāyadhaṇ I. (A.D. 166—1697). The Rā'os of Kacch retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanāgarī, the name of Muẓaffar (III.) of Gujarāt and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coin continued to be struck until recent times, but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.

No. 82. Copper: 189 grains: [Navānagar]: Date?

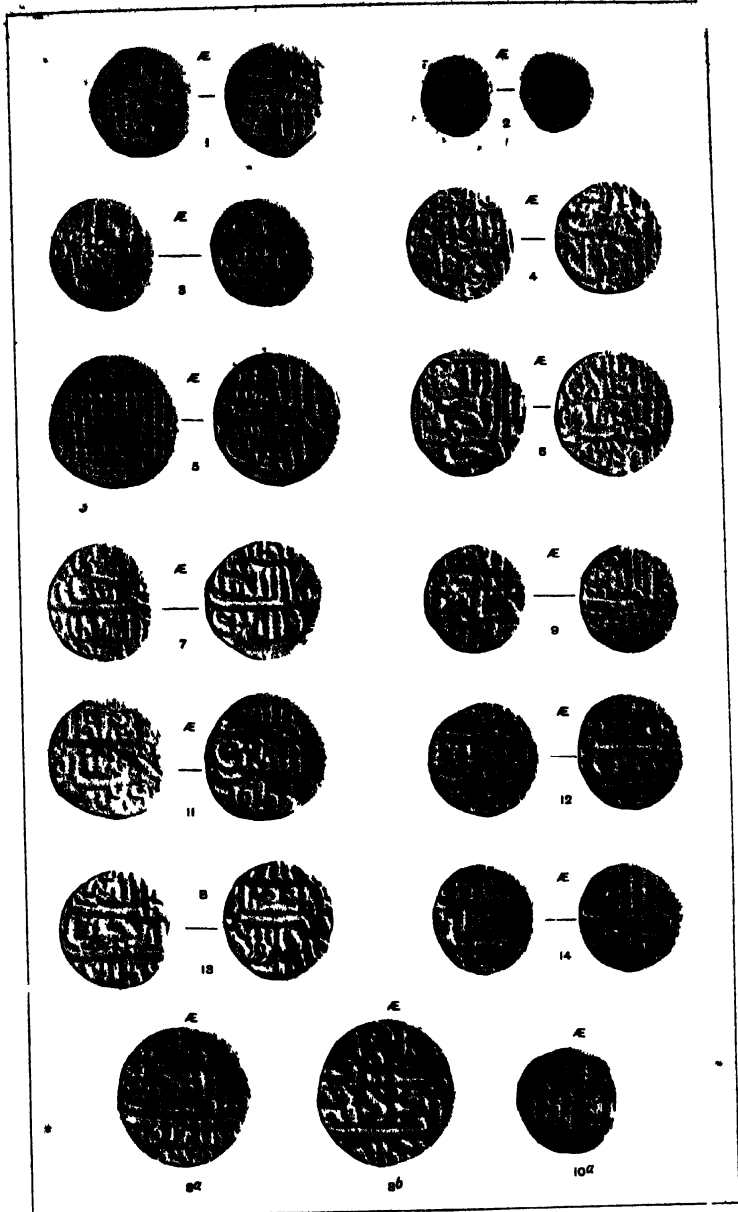
Obverse: श्रीजाम मङ्गर शाह السلطان १५८ (for १५८).

Reverse: A very degenerate form of the legend on the reverse of Coin No. 72.

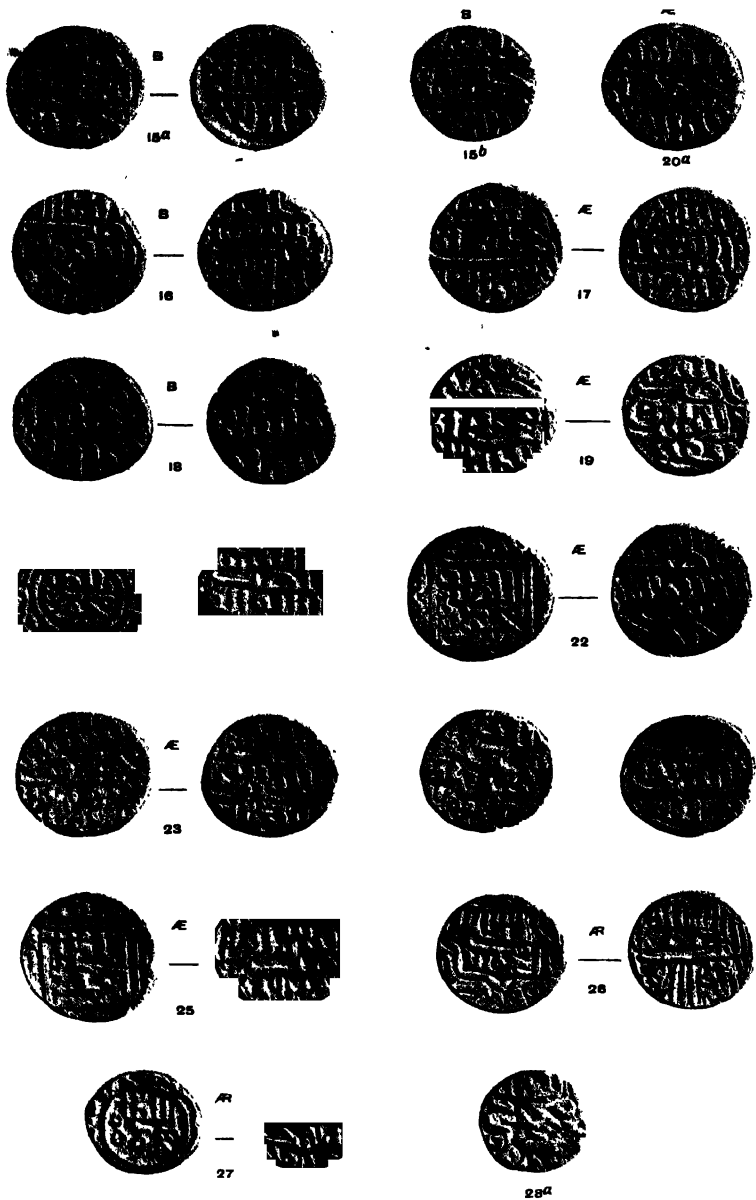
This is copper coin of the Navānagar State, a rough imitation of the coins struck by Muẓaffar III., before Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.

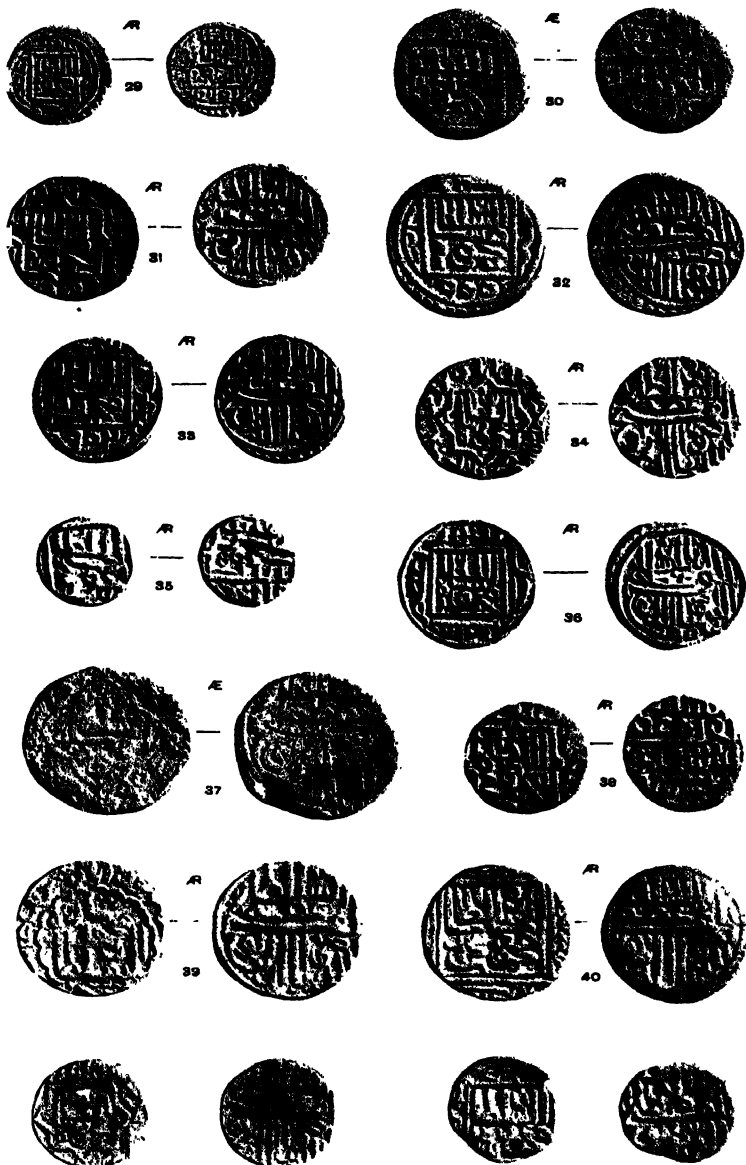
For the admirable plates that accompany this article I am indebted to my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western India. With his unfailing kindness he offered to take casts in plaster, and from them photographs, of all coins that I might select for the purpose; and it was this most generous offer of his—an offer entailing much tedious labour on his part—that more than all else encouraged me to undertake the writing of the present article. Never before have photographic plates been prepared representing so complete a set of the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat, and by this valuable contribution Mr. Cousens has placed the readers of this Journal under a deep debt of obligation.

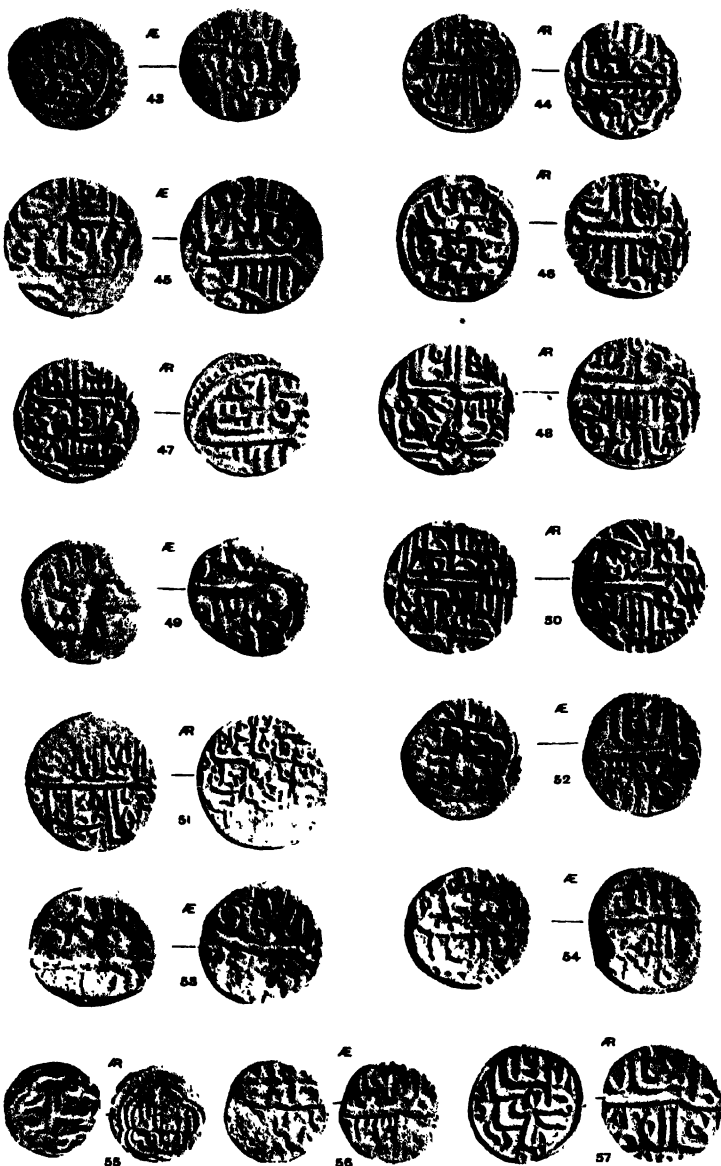
G. P. T.

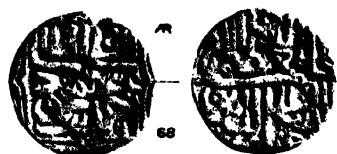
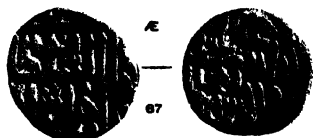
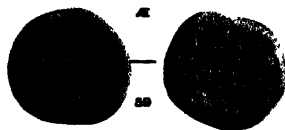
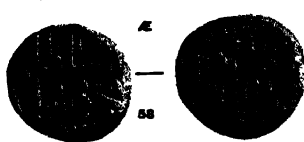


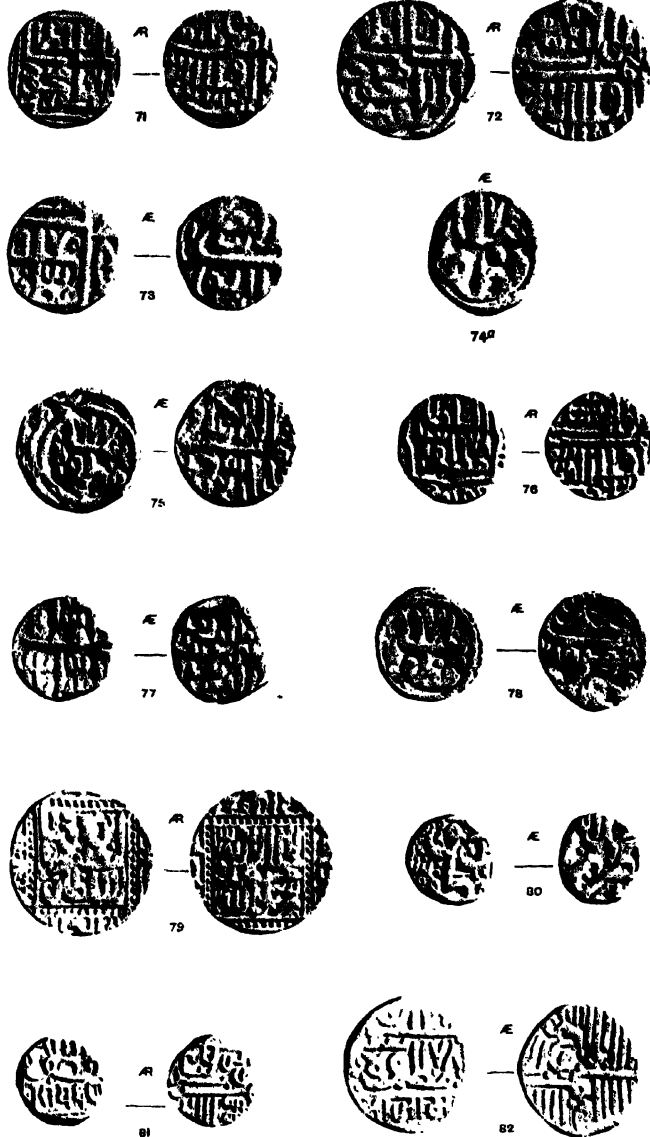
COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT

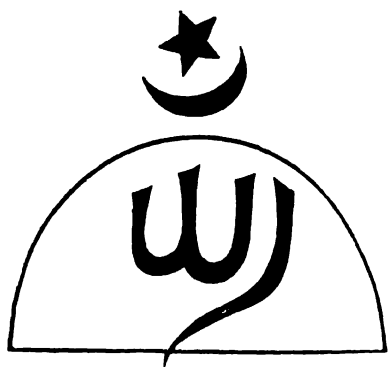


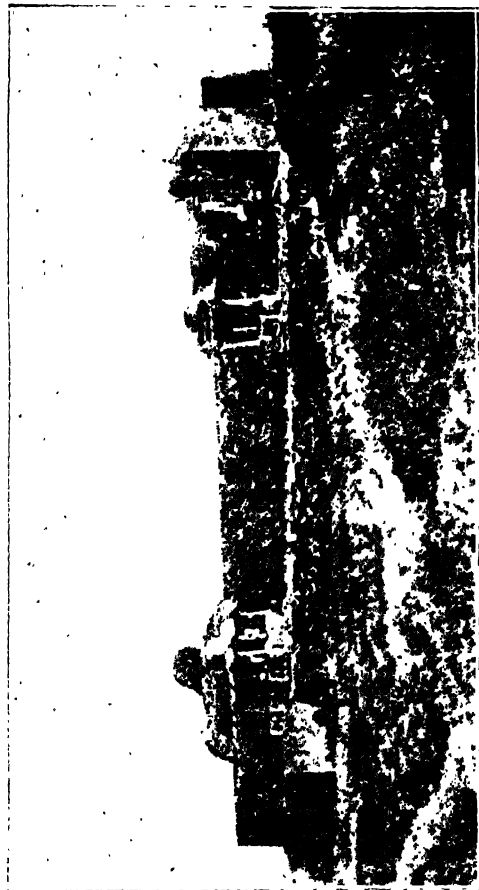












THE LAT MUSJID, DHAR.

ART. XI.—*Dhar and Mandu*. By ERNEST BARNES, Capt., I.S.C.

(Communicated, June 1902.)

Preface.

AN effort has here been made to collect in one paper such information as is obtainable regarding these places.

For the historical portion of the work I have relied principally on Brigg's Translation of Farishta's History, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fuzl, and on Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India. A "History of Mandu" published by "a Bombay Subaltern" in 1844, and "Mandu" an article by Mr. (now Sir) J. M. Campbell, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896, have been of invaluable assistance to me.

Much of the information regarding the buildings of Dhar has not, to the best of my belief, appeared in print before, and I am much indebted to Mr. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State, and to his Assistant Babaji Nalchekar, in the matter of the Sanskrit inscriptions, also to Moulvie Syed Ahmed and Munshi Abdur Rahman who have rendered me similar help in dealing with the Persian inscriptions given in the text. For the photographs of inscriptions my thanks are due to Mr. Bodas of the Dhar High School, while the sketches have been lent by one who wishes to remain *incognito*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions in Dhar which have recently come to light open up a field of research far beyond the scope of this work. The history of Dhar and Mandu prior to the Mahommedan conquest is shrouded in tradition, but there would seem to be some probability that scattered over the country and indeed in Dhar itself, inscriptions do exist from which it might be possible to elucidate facts connected with this period. To decipher and co-ordinate these inscriptions is obviously a work which requires special knowledge and time; but local officials have now been interested in this matter, and it may be hoped that with assistance from the Durbar, some arrangements will be possible under which such work might be carried on, in a systematic way.

Though now fallen from their high estate the countries of the Bhopawar Agency have had a great past, and not only in Dhar and Mandu, but in Nimar along the Narbada Valley to Bagh and

Darwani many striking evidences of former greatness are to be found. Few things would be more agreeable than to have an active share in bringing to light those forgotten times, but if that should not be possible, I would fain content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to further stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the past.

ERNEST BARNES.

DHAR, C. I., 6th October 1902.

DHAR.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch.

The Emperor Jehangir writes in his diary: "Dhar is one of the
 A. D. 567. oldest cities of India. Raja Bhoj lived in this city one thousand years ago. Dhar was also the capital of the Mahommedan rulers
 A. D. 1325. of Malwa. When Sultan Mahammed Tugluk was on his way to the
 A. H. 713. conquest of the Deccan, he built a cutstone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings."

The ancient name of the city was "Dhárá Nagari" (Sanskrit, "the town of blades of swords"), as it appears that this place was originally a school for military training; but it is now known among Mahommedans as "Piran Dhar" owing to the number of tombs of Mahommedan saints that are to be found in its vicinity.

There seems to be little doubt that in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Ujjain, Dhar held the second place. Farishta, in the introductory chapter of his history, says that Vikramajit built the fort of Dhar. By this is evidently meant the earthen ramparts of which traces still remain and which are locally attributed to Raja Bhoj. As to Raja Bhoj, Farishta adds:—"After the death
 A. D. 44. of Vikramajit, Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj setting up pretensions to the throne assumed the reins of Government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Puar, followed the steps of his predecessor."



THE "MEHRAB" IN "RAJA BHOJ'S SCHOOL."

Considerable confusion exists as to this famous character, owing probably to the fact that there were certainly two Rajas of that name and probably more. Dr. Buhler, in his Introduction to the *Vikramānka devacharita*, puts the probable date of his death at A.D. 1065. In this poem, Bilhana, the author, states that Dhārā was taken by storm during Bhoja's reign by Somesvara I, the Chalukya king (1040—1069), and that Bhoja had to flee. Bhoja is also mentioned by Kalhana in the *Raja tarangini* as a great patron of poets (A.D. 1062). With the assistance of inscriptions available, it is hoped that it will be possible to increase our knowledge on these points, but as things stand at present, concerning the long period of time from Vikramajit and Bhoj, up to the first Mahommedan invasion, we have no historical record. Farishta speaks of this invasion as having occurred in 1304; he says :

“About this time, *Ain-ul-mulk* Multani was sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 foot; in the engagement which ensued *Ain-ul-mulk* proved victorious and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara Naguri (Dhar), and Chanderi.”
Alla-ud-din Khilji was then King of Delhi.

It would appear that from this time Malwa acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi kings, until the reign of Mahommed II, son of Feroz Tughluk, when *Dilawar Khan Ghorī*, a descendant on his mother's side of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghorī of Damascus, was appointed governor. This prince subsequently established his independence, and at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan (afterwards Sultan Hoshang) assumed “the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty.”

Dhar, not Mandu, was the capital both of the Mahommedan province and of the independent kingdom founded by Dilawar Khan, and it was not till after his death and the succession of his son Alp Khan that the pride of place passed to Mandu.

From this time, until the Mahratta invasions, the city of Dhar loses its importance except as a theatre of the continued struggles between the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. It was also, as its many tombs attest, a favourite ground for the Mahommedan propaganda.

- A. D. 1690. The first Mahratta invasion of Central India occurred in the
 A. H. 1108. year 1690, and for seven years their incursions into this part of
 A. D. 1698
 A. H. 1114. Malwa continued. Malcolm in his history notes that in 1696
 the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha Ghât and took Mandu. They
 also engaged the Mahommedan troops at Dhar, the fort of which
 they are said to have reduced after a siege of three months. These
 incursions only ceased on the advance of the celebrated Jai Singh
 of Jeypur, who according to Mahommedan writers, while acting
 on behalf of the emperor, maintained a secret understanding with
 the enemies of Aurangzebe. At the commencement of the 18th
 century the invaders returned, and Udaji Puar¹ planted his
 standards at Mandu. This occupation also was but short lived,
 A. D. 1720. and it was not till the succession of Bajerao, the 2nd Peishwa, that
 A. H. 1138.
 A. D. 1731.²
 A. B. 1149. permanent occupation was thought of.

In that year³ Bajerao marched with a large army from Poona and occupied Nimar. Dia Bahadur, who was at this time governor of Malwa, foreseeing the danger which threatened, sent continued appeals to Delhi for assistance, but no notice was taken of his requests, and he was left to make head as best he could against the storm. Expecting that the enemy would move by the Bagh-Tanda route, he blocked the passes in the neighbourhood of Bhopawar and marched thither with his army to await them. Meantime Bajerao's army, led by Malhar Rao Holkar and favoured by the Thakurs and Zemindars, crossed the Nerbada at Akbarpur (close to the present ford of Khalghat) and ascending the ghâts by the Bahru Pass through which the Gujri-Dhar road now passes, marched to Dhar. Dia Bahadur hastened back to meet the invaders and a battle was fought at Tirla (6 miles west of Dhar) in which the Mahommedan troops were completely defeated and Dia Bahadur was slain.

- A. D. 1732. From this time the Mahommedan supremacy in Malwa ends.
 A. H. 1150. Two years later, Anand Rao Puar, the younger brother of Udaji
 A. D. 1734. (who had previously been deprived of all power by the Peishwa),
 A. H. 1152. was vested with authority to collect the Mahratta share of the
 revenue of Malwa and Guzerat. He shortly afterwards settled
 at Dhar, which province with some of the adjoining districts were
 assigned to him for the support of himself and his adherents. As

¹ The real founder of the present family.

Malcolm writes :— "It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should be making Dhar the capital of Anand Rao and his descendants, restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the Government of that city and territory."

Anand Rao Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son A. D. 1749.
 Yeswant Rao, who accompanied the Peishwa to Hindoostan, and A. H. 1167.
 was one of the many distinguished leaders who fell at the battle of A. D. 1761.
 Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Kundi Rao, then only two A. H. 1179.
 and a half years old, and the management of the family possessions
 was carried on by the Diwan Madho Rao Urekar. From this time
 the power of the State declined, and its total ruin seemed inevit-
 able when Raghoba Dada, being compelled to withdraw from
 Poona, sent his family to take refuge in Dhar. It was while in
 the fort that Anandi Bai, his principal wife, gave birth to Baji
 Rao, the last of the Peishwas. Dhar was immediately attacked by
 the combined force of Raghoba's enemies, and as Kundi Rao had
 openly espoused his cause, the Puar territory in Malwa was resumed,
 and was only restored on the surrender of Anandi Bai and her
 child. Kundi Rao married a daughter of Govind Rao Gaekwar,
 by whom he had a son Anand Rao, who was born six months A. D. 1780.
 after his father's death. Anand Rao remained at Baroda until A. H. 1198.
 he was seventeen years old, when he proceeded to Dhar, and
 although opposed by the Diwan Rung Rao Urekar, he succeeded
 in establishing himself in power. For the next twenty years the A. D. 1797..
 State was subjected to continued raids by the forces of Holkar and A. H. 1215.
 Scindhia. The former, Yeswant Rao Holkar, received the rebellious
 Diwan and, urged on by him, ravaged the country. Finding,
 however, he could not obtain all he wanted, the Diwan went on to
 Danlat Rao Scindhia and succeeded in instigating that chief to A. D. 1807.
 attack Dhar. In this year Anand Rao died, leaving his distracted A. H. 1225.
 territory to his widow Maina Bai. This courageous lady who was
 pregnant at the time of her husband's death, took up her residence
 in Mandu, where she gave birth to a son Ramchander Rao Puar.
 Her cause being strengthened by this event, she continued her
 struggle, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain the independence
 of the State. Her son died when he was three years old, but Maina
 Bai immediately had recourse to adoption, and with the concur-
 rence of both Scindhia and Holkar nominated her sister's son, who

was about the same age as her own child, and seated him on the *gaddi* under the name of Ramchander Puar. The next seven years were a mere struggle for existence, and when the British forces entered Malwa, Dhar itself was the only possession¹ that remained to Ramchander Puar, while the entire revenue of the State did not exceed Rs.35,000. With the advent of the British, however, a rapid change took place. By opportune policy, Scindhia was induced to return the Badnawar pergana and his aid was invoked to recover Bersia which had been occupied by the Pindari Leader Karim Khan. Finally, on the 10th of July 1819, a treaty was concluded with the British, and Dhar was saved from the annihilation which undoubtedly awaited it. Prosperity rapidly returned, and Maina Bai and her Minister Bapu Raghunath, both of whom outlived Ramchander Rao, continued to carry on the administration.

- A. D. 1833.
A. H. 1251. Ramchander, who had married a granddaughter of Daulat Rao Scindhia, died childless in 1833. His widow adopted as his successor Yeswant Rao Puar of Malthan (Deccan), then about twelve years of age, and the administration was continued by Bapu Raghunath till his death in 1836. Nothing of importance marks the rule of this chief, but he introduced an organised system of government, and left a reputation for great generosity among the people. The fine temple of Kalka Devi to the north-west of the town, which was entirely repaired by him, shows his religious tendencies. He died suddenly in May 1857, having nominated on his death-bed Anand Rao Puar, his half-brother, as his successor. Anand Rao, then a boy of thirteen, was unable to stem in his territory the torrent of mutiny and disaffection which at that time spread over the whole country. His army, mostly composed of Makranis and Pathans, having looted the Agency at Bhopawar, occupied the fort at Dhar until it was captured by the British. In consequence the State was confiscated, but was subsequently restored to Anand Rao, with the exception of the Bairsia Perganna.²
- A. D. 1857.
A. H. 1275.
- 1st Nov. 1857, and
- A. D. 1860.

British management was maintained, however, till 1864, when ruling powers were given to the chief. During his long rule, the

¹ The Nimar pergasas of Dharampuri and Tikri were still nominally in possession of the family, but no revenue was derived from these pergasas.

² This pergana was transferred to Bhopal as a reward for the services during the mutiny rendered by Sekunder Begani.



THE DOORWAY KAMAL MAULA'S SHRINE.

prosperity of Dhar continued to increase, and the revenue rose from about 5 lakhs in 1857 to 9 lakhs in 1896. Anand Rao A. D. 1877. received several marks of favour at the hands of the Imperial Government. On the occasion of the Delhi assemblage in 1877, he was granted the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction, and was also appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1883, the decoration of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire was also conferred upon him. He died childless in July 1898, having previously adopted his nephew Udaji Rao Puar of Malthan. Of Anand Rao the people say : "He was short of stature, but large of heart"; and indeed no truer thing could be said of him ; but with all his unlimited hospitality towards Europeans as well as natives, he left his treasury full, and thus enabled the State to tide over with comparative ease the disastrous years which followed his death. A. D. 1898.

Udaji Rao Puar, whose succession was immediately recognised by the Government of India, is now sixteen years of age, and is being educated at the Daly College at Indore, the management of the State being in the hands of a Superintendent under the direct control of the Political Agent. A. D. 1902.

CHAPTER II.

Buildings.

The Fort is a rectangular construction of red sandstone, attributed to Sultan Mahmud Tughluk of Delhi. On the third gate there is an inscription to the effect that "in the reign of Aurangzebe this gate was constructed during the administration of Ashur Beg,¹ a man of great resources and courage." A. D. 1325-15. A. H. 725-752 A. D. 1690. A. H. 1108.

During the Mahratta invasion the fort played an important part, and it was here that Anandi Bai took refuge and gave birth to Baji Rao, the third Peishwa. A toy well and miniature throne with slide are shown as having been his playthings. Later, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the forts of Dhar and Mandu were practically the only pieces of territory remaining to the present family, and it was from here that Maina Bai, the courageous Rani of the time, directed her eventually successful struggles to preserve the State for her infant son, Ramchander Rao. A. D. 1857. A. H. 1275.

In 1857 the Arabs, Makranis, and Pathans, then in the service of

¹ Foster brother of Shah Jehan.

the State, joined the Amjhara mutineers and looted the Agency at Bhopawar. They then returned to Dhar, and having completely overawed the administration, took possession of the fort, which they held for about three months. An eye-witness describes what happened as follows: "The Diwan, Ramchand Rao (son of Bapuji Raghunath, the able minister of Maina Bai), the Raja being then a minor, informed the British authorities of what had occurred, and although frightened to openly ask for assistance, maintained secret correspondence with them. A force under the command of General Stewart eventually marched from Mhow, and the mutineers, hearing of its advance, took up positions on the high ground to the east covering the approaches to the city. On being attacked, they immediately retired to the fort. The British were without siege guns, and had to wait the arrival of two heavy pieces from Mhow. These guns were placed at the distance of about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the fort, and after battering the wall for thirteen days (using, as rumour goes, 40,000 projectiles), the breach was effected, which is still to be seen. That night the mutineers fled without the knowledge of the British, and the following day the bombardment was renewed. The prisoners who had remained in the fort began to wave their 'dhotis' in sign of surrender, and the British then took possession." It was only at the personal request of the late Maharaja, made to H. E. Lord Northbrook when he visited Dhar as Viceroy, that permission was given to rebuild the gap in the rampart. It has been found necessary to postpone the completion of this work owing to existing financial difficulties. The fort, at present, contains the jail and sepoy lines and a gigantic "baori." The palace known as the Karbuza Mahal, on the north-west bastion now in disrepair, apparently dates from the Mandu period.

A. D 1875.

At the upper entrance gate is a tomb known as that of Data Bandhi Chor. Very briefly the tradition is as follows: — The saint, by name Hazrat Mahbud, said to have been a servant in the fort, at the command of his mother, released all the prisoners. In struggling with the guards his head was severed from his body and fell at the place where this tomb now stands. The headless body continued the fight until it reached a spot about 200 yards to the north, where it fell and was buried. At this spot also a much-frequented shrine exists.



THE LAT MUSJID EASTERN ENTRANCE.

Among the guns stored in the Arsenal, at the entrance of the fort, there are some old pieces of the Mandu period of most primitive character; also a few camel guns. These were brought from Mandu for safe custody at the suggestion of the Political Agent¹ about 1878.

The Lat Masjid.

This mosque owes its erection to Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, the material used having evidently been taken from Hindu temples. The northern gateway is of particularly Jain-like style, and is in good preservation. The eastern gate is of a later epoch, and shows much more the influence of Mahomedan architecture. There are two inscriptions; that on the northern doorway is in prose, and to the effect that Ahmed Shah, known as Dilawar Khan, laid the foundation stone in the year A.D. 1405. The second inscription on the eastern entrance is in verse, and may be thus transcribed:—

- “ Lord of the earth and mighty source of lofty heaven
 “ The support of the people of this world
 “ And sun of the zenith of perfection
 “ In Him all good qualities are entered—
 “ Of descent noble as the heavens
 “ Powerful as the angels, and equal to Jesus
 “ In justice, charity, gravity, war, assembly and magnificence
 “ The eye of heaven hath not seen
 “ A person of such lofty thoughts
 “ The great supporter of Islam
 “ Ahmed Shah Dawad
 “ A hero of such noble qualities
 “ As Ghor may well be proud of.
 “ The helper and supporter of the religion of the Prophet
 “ Dilawar Khan, the chosen one of the Great God
 “ Disciple of Nazir-ud-din Mahommed
 “ This Asylum and place of protection for all great men
 “ In the city of Dhar constructed this assembly mosque
 “ At a happy moment and on an auspicious day
 “ A mosque like the second Kába of the world
 “ The praise of which is beyond description
 “ A mosque which resembles one built by angels
 “ Or the Kába by which the great world has received pleasure and beauty.

¹ Colonel Lester.

"It was the year 808 Hijri that the construction of the mosque was completed with all splendour."

Eighty feet from the northern gateway lies the square beam of iron by which the mosque is known. Jehangir in his diary speaks of it as follows:—

"Outside this fort (Dhar), there is an assembly mosque which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron pillar about four feet round. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat took Malwa, he wished to carry this column to Gujrat. In digging it up, the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 feet and the other 13 feet. As it was lying here uncared for, I (Jehangir) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra, to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of Him, whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar) to be used as a lamp-post."

Evidently Jehangir's orders were never carried out. The piece fallen *in situ* actually measuring 24 feet is where Jehangir saw it; the second piece, 12 feet long, was removed to the Agency Garden some years ago. The end of this piece is octagonal and suggestive of its having been made for a lamp-post.

On the piece lying near the mosque is a short inscription in Persian as follows:—

A.D. 1591.

"In the reign of the most exalted emperor, the reflection of the Almighty, while on his way to the Deccan in the eighth year of Asfandia, 42 Julusi, corresponding to 1000 of the Hijra, the Emperor Akbar passed here with great pomp, and his order for engraving this inscription was carried into effect by Sharif Mahommed."

The "Kamal Maula."

This enclosure comprises the tomb of:—

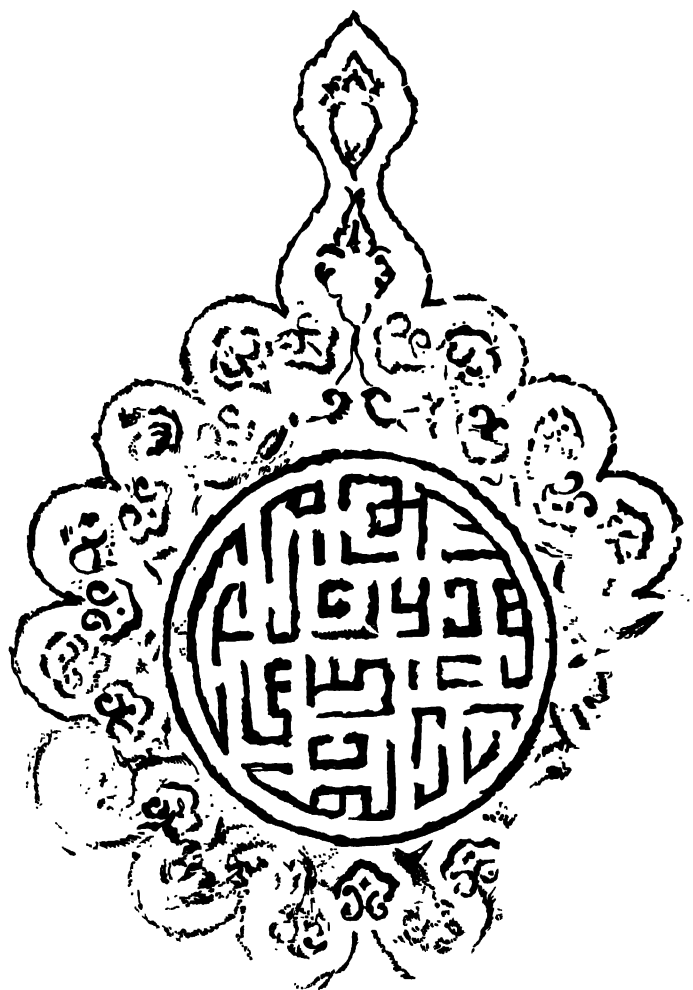
- (a) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Sahib Malvi;
- (b) The alleged tomb of Mahmūd Khilji, third king of Mandu;
- (c) A mosque; and
- (d) Several other ruined tombs of no historic importance.

As regards the tomb of Kamāl-ud-din, the inscription over the doorway reads thus:—

- "This lofty tomb of beauty, this dome which reflects light,
- ' This is the shrine of the saint
- "And people coming from distant places
- "Should here prostrate themselves.



THE LAT MUSJID, NORTHERN ENTRANCE.



THE BLUE TILE ON THE WALL, KAMAL MAULA'S TOMB.

"Though the space was small, still the gateway was constructed
with beauty

"The small arches over the platform, the threshold and this gateway

"Resemble the new moon.

"For the repose of all great persons

"And for the support of all

"In the happy reign of the emperor of the world

"Mahmūd Shah Khilji

"In the year 861 Hajri this was constructed.

A. D. 1457.

"May the place of his life be everlasting.

"On the threshold of the Lord of this world and of Religion

"Mahmūd lay prostrate.

"May his kindness continue upon me

"In the same way as it is extended to all who bow before him."

The origin of the quaint blue tile, with cufic characters, let into the wall above the Mulvi's tomb is a puzzle. There is nothing similar to it to be found in the neighbourhood, and up to the present it has not been possible to trace whence it came. The only mention of it is to be found in a Persian work called "*Guljar Abrar*," where a translation is given in Persian verse, which we may thus transcribe:

"On this tomb upon a green stone with golden letters it is written that, in this world nothing remains of good men, except their goodness."

Kamāl-ud-din, known as "Malwi," because of his long residence in Malwa, was one of the many disciples of the famous Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who flourished in Delhi at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sent by his spiritual guide to Malwa, Kamāl became famous as a preacher and "attained the heights of sanctity." The date of his death is unknown, but it must have occurred many years prior to the erection by Mahmūd Khilji of the buildings which adorn his grave. His teacher, Nizam-ud-din, died in A.D. 1325; it is thus hardly possible that Kamāl can have lived beyond A.D. 1400, and he cannot, therefore, have met Mahmūd in the flesh. It would seem probable that these buildings were erected as a thanks-offering to the local saint after Mahmūd's return from his successful campaign against the Rana Kunbhū of Chitor.¹

¹ Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure. It is dated, 795 A.H. (1395 A.D.), i.e., prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, 1st king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughluk, the small and ancient mosques of Dbar which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Malik Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa).

Opposite that of Kamāl-ud-din stands a tomb which, local tradition insists, is that of Mahmūd Khilji himself. Again to quote tradition, the great warrior is said to have expressed the wish that he "should be buried in the place where people removed their shoes in going to visit the tomb of his patron saint Kamāl-ud-din."

Raja Bhoja's School.

The mosque, contiguous to Kamāl-ud-din's tomb, is known among the Hindoo population as "Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa," i. e., Raja Bhoja's School. In its present form, it is contemporaneous with the buildings round it, but, as in the case of the Lāt Masjid, all the materials used seem to have been taken from Hindoo buildings. The decoration of the "Mehrab" and the dome are more elaborate than in the Lāt Masjid.

As confirming the local tradition of the existence of Raja Bhoja's school in this neighbourhood, the two *Serpobandhi* pillar inscriptions, photographs of which are given below, are extremely interesting.

The following explanation of them, has kindly been given me by Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State.

"Inscription No. I is made up by the windings of one serpent only. It contains the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nagari characters of the 11th or 12th century A. D., and the chief inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. The former are given in the body of the serpent, and the latter in the tail. The consonants do not differ very much from those in common use now; but the vowels have quite a different shape. The whole inscription is 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. in breadth. There are altogether 53 letters and symbols, and 21 nominal and 18 verbal inflectional terminations. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it may be called alphabetical."

"Inscription No. II is bigger in size, 2½ ft. in height and 1½ ft. in breadth, with greater contents. It is made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female. It contains chiefly the personal terminations of the ten tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar. There are three numbers in Sanskrit, and two sets of terminations (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, transitive and intransitive) for each of the tenses and moods: so for the three persons in each there



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. I.



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. II.

are altogether 18 terminations, 9 of each set, as shown below:—

Parasmai.			Atmane.		
Sing.	du.	pl.	Sing.	du.	pl.
3rd person	3rd person	...	...
2nd "	2nd "	...	...
1st "	1st "	...	...

Inscription Serpobandha No. II.

Thus there are altogether $18 \times 10 = 180$ verbal terminations, 90 of each set, given in the table and numbered on the right-hand side. They are given in slanting columns from the left to the right in the spaces left between the zigzag turnings of the serpents. On the left-hand side are marked the names of the two sets of terminations, the three persons: the third or prathama, the second or madhyama, and the first or uttama; and the three numbers by the figures 1, 2 and 3. The names of the tenses are marked on the top of each column by the initial letter of each. In Sanskrit, besides primitive verbal bases, there are several (not fewer than a dozen) derivative bases of verbs, which show causation, desire, intensity, etc. These and other details are indicated in the round knots below the principal table. The inscription is based on the *Ka-tantra* grammar of Sanskrit.

Above the table there are two Sanskrit stanzas of the Anustubha metre of 32 letters divided into 4 feet of 8 letters each. In the first verse occur the names of Udayaditya and Naravarman, and in the second that of Udayaditya alone. Now these Udayaditya and Naravarman were the almost immediate successors of the Raja Bhoja who ruled at Dhar during the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

The probable meaning of the stanzas is as follows:—

"The swords of the king Udayaditya and Naravarman were equally ready for the protection of the *varnas* (i.e., the four castes) and the letters of the alphabet. This pillar inscription has been put here by king Udayaditya for the gratification of poets and princes."

In addition to these evidences, a considerable portion of the floor of the mosque is paved¹ with black stone slabs, on which can be distinctly seen traces of the inscriptions which once covered them, but which unfortunately have been almost totally defaced by the Mahomedan conquerors. Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the "Mehrab" are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but of which,

¹ For about 1,200 sq. ft.

owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja.¹

Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Chungal.

This mausoleum lies south-west of the city on the ancient ramparts of the town. The tomb itself is insignificant, but the history connected with it, as detailed in the Persian inscription over the gateway leading up to the tomb, is of interest. It runs as follows :—

“ His tomb appears to be wholly a reflection of light

“ And the Saint who is buried here was the true lover of God.

“ His voice possessed a power as marvellous as that of David

“ And by it men and even animals were charmed ;

“ But what of men, even Angels do homage to his tomb.

“ It was in the palmy days of the Hindus that he came to this city

“ And Raja Bhoj,² then king, was so affected by his marvellous power

“ That he embraced the Faith.

A. D. 1296-
1316.

“ Mahmud Shah Khilji repaired the dome over his tomb, which
Allah-ud-din Ghōri had constructed before him.

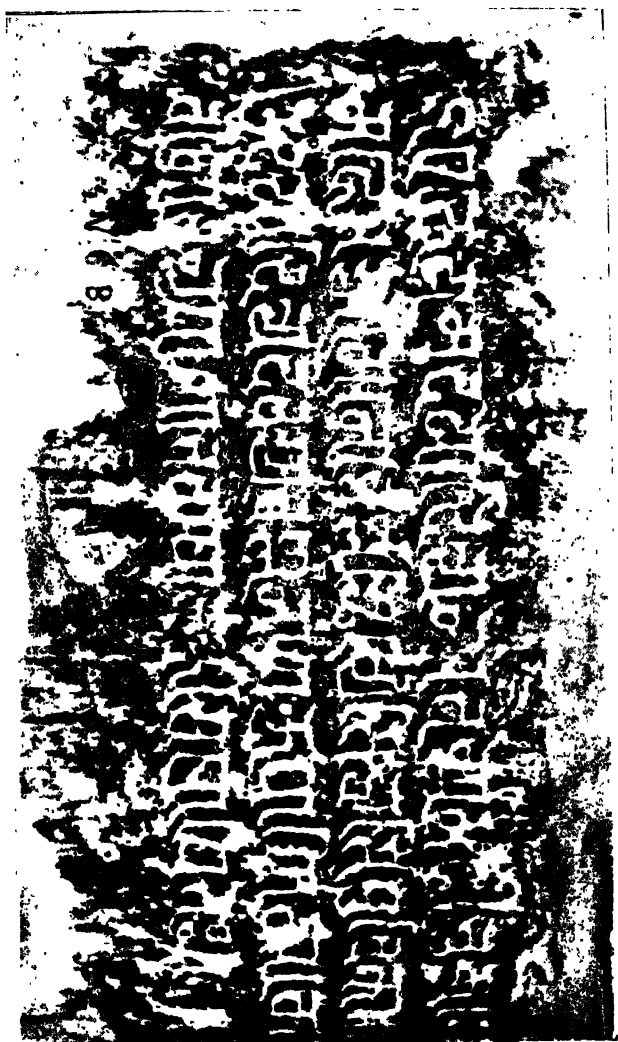
A. D. 1454.

“ He is the first and foremost of the saints, and his tomb was
constructed here in 857 A. H.

“ He is termed Changāl, because all who once visited him remained
for ever fascinated by his marvellous power.

¹ The dimensions of the stone from which impressions have been taken are 5' 8" x 5', and the whole inscription consists on a rough calculation of about 80 lines of 116 syllables each. Owing to the position and then only with great difficulty 40 half-lines have been copied. The inscription is in classical Sanskrit poetry and was written by the Royal Tutor Madan to be reproduced at Dhar at the spring festival. It is written in honor of Arjuna Varma Deo (A.D. 1209—1217) and mention is made of the wars between the Pramanas and the Chalukyas now happily ended by marriage. A glimpse is given of the high states of civilisation and refinement then prevailing in Dhar, which is described as a city of palaces having beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills surrounding the town. The people prided themselves in the glories of Bhoja who had made Dhar the Queen of Malwa. The excellence of the Dhar musicians as well as of its scholars is also mentioned. It appears that some of the facts mentioned in this inscription are confirmed by a copper-plate grant of Arjuna Varma, dated Samvat 1272 (A.D. 1215) which was written by the same author Madan, and a copy of which has been published in the American Oriental Society's Journal (Part VII.).

² According to Tod, the dates of the three Bhojas were: A.D. 567, A.D. 665, A.D. 1305. The last was the predecessor of Udayaditya.



SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ABOVE KIRITANANDA NO. 11



THE TOMB OF SHAH CHANGAL.

“He has attained the highest degree of piety and virtue known to the Dervishes.”

The Hindus naturally scoff at the idea that a Raja Bhoj should have been converted to Mahommedanism, but the inscription given above shows how ancient is the tradition, while the Mahommedan story, which is fully detailed in the “Annals of Malwa,” goes on to say that Raja Bhoja on his conversion took the name of Abdullah and was buried on the same spot as his teacher. A series of small tombs in the same enclosure are said to be those of forty missionaries who were massacred at the instance of Raja Bhoj himself, evidently prior to the arrival of Shah Changāl! The latter was a native of Medina and, in Malwa, one of the earliest apostles of the new creed.¹

Besides the above there are some twelve other tombs of known “Pirs” scattered in and about the city, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most prominent, and whose tomb is visible at a distance of about a mile south from the Shah Changāl is that of Hazrat Pir Parahan. It is said of him that one of the elements, namely air, was under his control; the seat on which he used to sit floated in the ether, and on it he moved at will from place to place. Hence his name, Pir Parahan—the flying Saint. Another of historical interest is the shrine of Maulana Ghiyas, who is mentioned by Abul Fazl in conjunction with Shaikh Kamal and others as having been one of the saintly followers of Nizamuddin Auliya.² His tomb lies on the Khande Rao hill. He is more specially a patron of learning, and to this day the youth of Dhar frequent his shrine when troubled with the prospect of an examination.

It may here be noted that these Mahomedan shrines of Dhar are equally sacred both to Hindus and Mahomedans.

The only Hindu building of general interest is the temple of Kali, *Kalka Devi*, beautifully situated on a hillock overlooking the lotus-covered tank to the north-west of the city.

The building as it now stands is due to Jaswant Rao Puar, grandfather of the present chief, but the shrine itself is of a far remoter period, and is alleged to date from the early Hindu kings. When the Mahomedans invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kali that with the exception of the famous Durga of Bengal, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.

¹ I have not succeeded in finding any mention of this saint in the *Âin-i-Akbari*.

² *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. III., p. 365. Jarrett's translation.

The modern city.

But little comment is necessary on the modern city. It dates from the commencement of last century when Maina Bai built the palace and the Utawad gate as well as the fine temple of Mahadeo in the centre of the town. Of public buildings there are practically none, with the exception of the High School and the hospital founded by Anand Rao Puar, the late Maharaja.

CHAPTER III.

Nalcha.

Nalcha, sixteen miles from Dhar, is now a small village, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name.

It has lost much of its importance since 1820 when it was the headquarters of Sir John Malcolm and still more, since the time when
A. D. 1617. Jehangir visited it, and in his diary describes it as follows :— “ What can be written worthy of the beauty and pleasantness of Nalcha ? The neighbourhood is full of mango trees, the whole of the country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty, I remained there three days.

“ Nalcha is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time (February) when, contrary to the Northern clime, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flowers, and its fields delighted the eye with their many coloured beauty.”

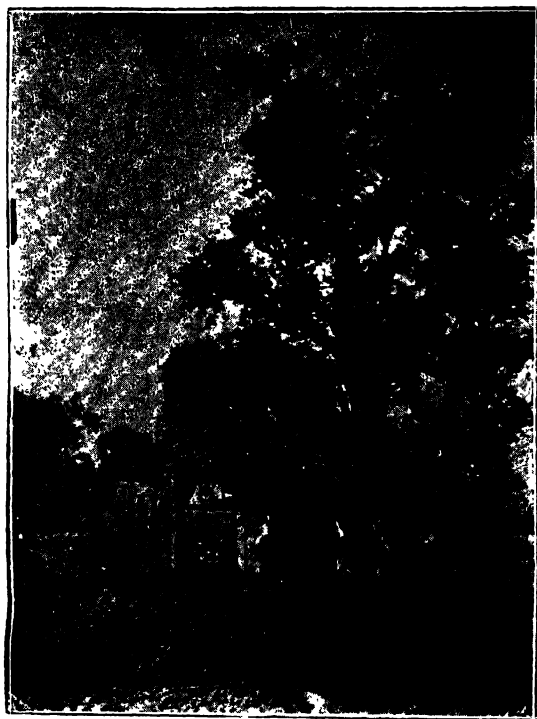
The vines have disappeared, and nothing is sadder than to see the ruin which the recent drought has caused to the mango-groves of which Jehangir speaks. Still much of the natural beauty of the place remains, and one can well understand how Sir John Malcolm chose it as a residence. The house where he lived lies a few hundred yards west of the village, and as he himself records is one of the palaces built by Mahmūd Khilji during the reign of the latter in Mandu.

A. D. 1840. Until about 1840, it was used as a travellers' bungalow, but has since fallen into total disrepair.

A. D. 1441. The picturesque ruins surrounding the tank close to which the road passes, date from the time of Mahmūd Khilji who, it is recorded, built here some beautiful palaces and mosques. From Nalcha to Mandu the road becomes a sort of *Via Appia*. On the rising ground at a short distance from the village the ruins commence which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right is a chain of



THE UTAWAD GATE, DHAR.



NALCHA.

hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling relics of the past. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas below which are ruins of ornamental carving with traces of the original blue enamelled ground. Some of the buildings are large with walled enclosures and porticos. As a "Bombay Subaltern" writing in 1844 says: "They form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp; a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavour; the hardy pipal tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace, and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, the luxurious retreats of indolent Mahomedans, and of the fair inmates of their harem."

On the left, about half way to Mandu, is the "Kakra Koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, which extending far into the distance breaks through the Vindhian chain into the Nimar plain. Two marks on the rock near where the two sides meet are pointed out as the veritable footprints of Murtaza Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. Just opposite, on the other side of the road, and strongly contrasting in its quiet beauty with the grandeur of the ravine, is a small lake surrounded on three sides by hills, its embankments covered with a rich belt of mangos and jamun trees.

The strange bulky tree, which cannot fail to have attracted notice, is the *Adansonia digitata*, the Baobab tree of Senegal known in Malwa as the Khorasani Imli. It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu, but is not to be found in any other part of Malwa,¹ and is exotic in India. Its trunk attains enormous dimensions, and was supposed by its discoverer, the French botanist Adanson, to exceed any other tree in longevity; he found one 30 feet in diameter, and calculated its age at 5,150 years! The wood is extremely light, its specific gravity being only 262, water being 1,000, and is thus but little heavier than cork. The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March; the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sherbet. It seems probable that this tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmūd Khilji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed.

CHAPTER IV.

Mandu—its History.

Before attempting to describe the ruins, it seems desirable to take up the thread of history which connects this place with

¹ Except an occasional stray specimen.

Dhar, and to note as briefly as a period of five hundred years will allow, the events of which Mandu has been the scene.

From time immemorial Mandu must have been a fortress, but, as is the case with Dhar, of its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest very little is known.

Farishta mentions that one Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bais who rose to power after the death of Pertab Chand, constructed the fort of Mandu in Malwa. This Anand Deo lived in the reign of A. D. 591-621. Khusru Parvis, King of Persia, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

In connection with the foundation of Mandu, Colonel Tod writes as follows :

“ Maheswar . . . appears to have been the first seat of Government of the Pramaras.¹ They subsequently founded Dhara Nagar (Dhar) and Mandu on the crest of the Vindhian hills . . . the inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitore at A. D. 714.”

A. H. 714.
A. D. 1305.

A. D. 1398.

In A. D. 1304-05 Mandu suffered the same fate as Dhar at the hands of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, and one century later, on the succession of Alp Khan, known as Sultan Hoshang, became the capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa. It was seven years previous to this date that Alp Khan withdrew to Mandu, annoyed with his father Dilawar Khan for entertaining as his overlord at Dhar, Mahmud Tugluk, the refugee Monarch of Delhi. According to Farishta he stayed there for three years and laid the foundation of the famous fortress, the remains of which still exist. Although Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, and considered that place as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu and, as available inscriptions show, built the Assembly Mosque near the Jahaz Mahal and the southern gateway of the fort now known as the Tarapur Gate.

2nd King of
the Ghori
dynasty, A. D.
1405-1432.

On the death of Dilawar Khan, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa under the name of *Sultan Hoshang Ghori*.

A rumour prevalent at the time that he had poisoned his father (although according to Farishta not generally accepted) was evidently believed by Musaffar Shah of Gujerat. the sworn brother-in-

¹ Modern Puar.

arms of the late king, who immediately collected an army and marched against Hoshang.¹ He reached Dhar without resistance and a battle ensued on the plain in front of the town. The Gujerat chief was wounded and Hoshang was unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately until the scale turned in favour of Gujerat. Hoshang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he was closely besieged, and was finally forced to surrender at discretion. He was taken prisoner to Gujerat, and Nasrat Khan, brother of Muzaffar Shah with a strong detachment, was left in charge of the Government of Malwa. Nasrat, however, failed to gain the goodwill either of the army or of the people and was forced to retire to Gujerat. On his departure, the Malwites appointed Musi Khan, nephew of the late Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hearing this, Hoshang wrote to Muzaffar Shah, pointing out that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requesting that he might be permitted to recover his usurped dominions. Muzaffar Shah acceded to his request, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to accompany Hoshang to Malwa and reinstate him on his throne. A. D. 1407.

On arrival at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, Ahmed returned to Gujerat, and Hoshang continued his advance on Mandu, but failed to make any impression on it until joined by his cousin, *Malik Moghis*. The desertion of this powerful noble so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned Mandu and fled without further resistance. Two years later, Hoshang, forgetful of all he owed to Muzaffar Shah, and personally to the prince Ahmed, who had now succeeded to the Gujerat throne, marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Feroz Khan and Haibat Khan² in opposing Ahmed's succession. Ahmed Shah, however, prevented the junction of the three armies, and Hoshang returned incontinently to Dhar, but so restless was his disposition, and so inveterate his enmity to the rulers of Gujerat, that he soon afterwards involved himself in a new war. Hearing that Ahmed Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwara, Hoshang again led his army into Gujerat and laid it waste. Ahmed Shah accordingly returned to meet him, on which occasion again Hoshang fled to Malwa. A third time Hoshang A. D. 1416.

¹ This attack marks the commencement of the series of wars between Malwa and Gujerat, which finally culminated, in A. D. 1536, with the overthrow of the Malwa Kingdom.

² Younger sons of Muzaffar Shah.

invaded Gujerat during the absence of Ahmed Shah, but retreated on the prince's approach. On this occasion Ahmed Shah followed him up into Malwa and a battle was fought near Ujjain. Hoshang was defeated and fled to Mandu pursued by the Gujerat cavalry, while Ahmed Shah followed as far as Nalcha.

To punish Hoshang, Ahmed twice besieged Mandu, and though he failed each time to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with the Gujerat chief.

A. D. 1420. In 1420, Hoshang marched on Kherla, a fortress of the Ghondwara kingdom, and having compelled the Raja by treaty to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Malwa, returned laden with booty to Mandu.

A. D. 1421. In 1421, assuming the character of a horse-dealer, and accompanied by a thousand cavalry, he went to Jainagar, now Jajpur in Orissa. He took with him a number of bay, chestnut and grey horses, such as that Raja was known to admire with the object of bartering these animals and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jainagar. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen-goods, and then, either to purchase them with money, or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground, but owing to the threatening appearance of the weather Hoshang remonstrated, pointing out that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted, and the goods remained spread out in the open. At length the Raja arrived, and a thunderstorm coming on, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Hoshang, irritated at his loss, without further ado ordered his followers to mount and attack the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, the Raja himself being taken prisoner. Hoshang then informed him of his rank, and the Raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five elephants; he was also required to escort the warlike merchant to the confines of his country, whence he was permitted to return but not without having handed over a few more of his famous elephants.

On his way back to Malwa, Hoshang heard that Ahmed Shah had invaded the country and was besieging Mandu. He, therefore, seized the fort of Kherla so as to have a position to fall back on



THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HOSHIANG AT MANDU.

in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance :—" The blood of the faithful depends on us ; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujerat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujerat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, " on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang's elephants : he then retired towards Gujarat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Blámani, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned to Mandu and thence to Hoshungabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1428.

A. D. 1431.

Death of
Ho-shang.
A. D. 1432.



THE SARCOPIHAGES OF HOSHANG AT MANDU.

in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance :—" The blood of the faithful depends on us; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujerat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujerat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, "on whom the face of victory never smiled," was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang's elephants: he then retired towards Gujarat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Bhamani, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned to Mandu and thence to Hoshungabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1428.

A. D. 1431.

Death of
Hoshang,
A. D. 1432.

Third King of
the Ghori Dy-
nasty, A. D.
1432-35.

On Hoshang's death, his son Ghazni Khan, with the title of *Sultan Mahommed Ghori*, succeeded to the throne. It was this prince that ordered his capital to be called "Shadiabad,"¹ or the "City of Joy." Malik Mughis, Hoshang's minister, and his son, Mahmûd, were maintained in power. The Sultan, finding that the Nandod Rajputs were raiding a part of Malwa, despatched his chief minister with an army to chastise them, and leaving all public business in the hands of Mahmûd, abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation. After a reign of three years, during which the power of Mahmûd continually increased, he was poisoned by one of the private servants at the instance of his minister. The Ghori Dynasty thus came to an end.

A. D. 1435.

4th King of
Malwa and
1st of the
Khilji dyn-
asty. A. D.
1435-69.

With the reins of power entirely in his hands Mahmûd asked his father to accept the succession, but the latter declined saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State. Accordingly on the 16th of May 1435, Sultan Mahmûd Khilji ascended the throne in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mandu with the tiara of Sultan Hoshang. He raised his father to royal dignity, and delivered over exclusively to him the seals of office of prime minister. Shortly after his accession, a revolt among the nobles was quelled, but Ahmed Shah of Gujerat, taking advantage of the discontent, marched to attack Mandu in support of Massoud Ghori, son of the late King. This attack was repulsed by Mahmûd and his father, and a fatal disease breaking out in Ahmûd's camp he was compelled to retreat to Gujerat. Meantime Mahmûd, after a siege of eight months, took Chanderi and marching into Gwalior ravaged that territory.

A. D. 1439.

A. D. 1440.

On his return to Mandu he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Hoshang and completed the mosque and tomb which that chief had begun. In the following year Mahmud received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi stating that Syed Mahomed, King of Delhi, was totally incapable of carrying on the government of the Empire, and inviting him to march to Delhi and ascend the throne. With this invitation, Mahmûd willingly complied, and at once marched towards the capital. Syed Mahomed,

¹ *Vide* Firishta's History of Malwa. But on the Tarapur Gate, which was completed in A. D. 1406, the name, "Shadiabad" and not Mandu is used. *Vide* infra. Chapter V., Translation of inscription on Tarapur Gate.

in alarm, wished to quit Delhi and fly to the Punjab. He was, however, dissuaded from this purpose, and sent his son to repel the invaders. Mahmūd, hearing the King was not with the Delhi forces, deemed it derogatory to proceed in person; so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, he ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan, to oppose the enemy. In the engagement which ensued, both armies fought with great valour until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. On that night Sultan Mahmūd dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, and being much disturbed on this account was deliberating how to act, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Syed Mahomed ordering his son to make peace on any terms. An agreement was immediately come to, and Mahmūd with his army retreated to Mandu.

It is stated as a remarkable fact that on that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of Mahmūd's father. It is also stated, and Farishta says this version appears most probable, that "Mahmūd's return was caused by the rumour of an expected attack from Gujerat." He reached Mandu in 1441, and distributed alms among the poor as a thanks-offering for his safe return. It was in this year that he took up his residence in Nalcha and beautified that place with buildings.

He could not, however, remain long at peace, and during the following two years, devoted himself to the conquest of the Rajput Kingdom of Chitore. In this campaign he was partially successful. It was on the occasion of the capture and destruction of one of the forts¹ in the Chambal District that the defeated Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts of their idols mixed with "pan" in order that Mahmūd might say: "They have eaten their own gods." This fort had frequently and successfully withstood the attacks of the kings of Gujerat, and on its capture, Mahmūd caused public thanksgiving to be made, which every person in the camp was required to attend. In the next year, he completely defeated the Rana of Chitore himself, and compelled that chief to take shelter in his fort. He did not, however, press his advantage, but returned to Mandu, where, in celebration of his successes, he built a beauti-

¹ Kumbhalntr.

ful Tower of Victory,¹ seven stories high, in front of the college which he had founded opposite the mosque of Sultan Hoshang.

It was while supporting him in this campaign that his father² died at Mandisaur. On hearing the news, Mahmūd immediately repaired to Mandisaur alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mandu "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses."

- A. D. 1445. In 1445 he occupied himself with an attack on the districts of Kalpi and Jaunpur, and quartered himself in Fatehabad, "where he built a palace seven stories high." He returned to Mandu in the following year and founded a large hospital³ and appointed his own physician, Maulana Fazl Ullah, to superintend it. The establishment provided wards and attendants for all patients and "even apartments for maniacs." In 1446 he reduced the strongholds of Mandelgarh and Anandpur, and compelled the Raja of Kotah and Bundi to pay tribute, and in 1450 marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champauer, who had been attacked by Mahomed Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Gujerat. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad with the loss of all his camp equipage and military stores. It was at A. D. 1451, this period that Mahmūd determined to conquer Gujerat. Accordingly, with an army 100,000 strong, he marched against Ahmedabad and encamped at Sirkej. The Gujerat army under Kutub Shah⁴ lay at Khampur, six miles distant. In the battle which followed, Mahmūd himself led the centre of his line, while his sons Ghiasud-din and Fidwi Khan commanded the flanks. The King with a small escort made a dash on the royal pavilion, and actually succeeded in carrying off the crown of Gujerat; but the main body of his army was completely defeated, and he was compelled to retreat to Mandu. "It is worthy of remark," says Farishta, "that Sultan Mahmūd never experienced a defeat before or after during his reign."

¹ See Chap. V. Unfortunately this Tower, which must have formed one of Mandu's greatest monuments, is now a total ruin.

² Malik Moghis.

³ The site of this building cannot now be located.

⁴ Successor of Mahomed Shah.

In 1453 he concluded a treaty of peace with Gujerat, and entered A. D. 1453 into an alliance with that State, against the Rajputs of Mewar. In this campaign which was varied by a raid into the Deccan, he captured the fortress of Ajmere, and in a combat with the Rana Kumbu of Chitore (although Farishta does not admit it) must have suffered severe defeat, as it was in commemoration of this battle that the Column of Victory still standing in Chitore, was built.

In 1466 peace was concluded between Malwa and the Deccan, and it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa and considered the southern limit of the kingdom.

Meantime the fame of Mahmūd's successes had spread far and wide. The Kalifa of Egypt sent him an embassy with a letter in which he was styled "Defender of the Faithful." He was also visited by one Sheik Alla-ud-din, said to be one of the most holy men of the time, and other noted religious personages. In 1467 the King of Bokhara, ancestor of the Moghul Emperors, also honoured him with an embassy. Much flattered by this mark of attention, Sultan Mahmūd loaded the ambassador with honours and presents of every description, amongst these, which included elephants, horses, dancing girls, and slaves "a few mynas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."

In 1469, after a campaign against the Kichiwara zamindars of Malwa, the great Mahmūd died at the age of sixty-eight. Farishta says of him : May 27.
A. D. 1469.

"He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His tent was his home and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing recitations from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature. His justice was prompt and exact; if a theft was committed, a sum equal to the amount stolen was levied from the police and the injured party thus reimbursed. He ordered the destruction of tigers and other wild beasts, and proclaimed that if after a period of two years a human being was killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking it, he would hold the governor of the district responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words

was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom."

5th King of
Malwa and
2nd of the
Khalji dynas-
ty. A. D.
1409.

Sultan *Ghias-ud-din*, the eldest son of Mahmūd, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He compensated his brother, *Fidwi Khan*, with the gift of the government of Rintumbore in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, *Abdul Khader*, Prime Minister and heir-apparent with the title of *Nasir-ud-din*.

It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of Shadiabad. Shortly after his accession, the king gave a grand entertainment and addressing his officers stated that as during the last thirty years he had been constantly employed in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, that he himself might enjoy ease for the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and it is said had at one time 15,000 women within his palace. Amongst these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers; women to read prayers, and persons of all trades and professions. Five hundred beautiful young Turki girls in men's clothes, uniformly clad and armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also uniformly dressed and armed with fire-arms. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides them were many pensioners, such as mice, parrots and pigeons, which similarly received their daily allowance.

With all these extraordinary fancies, the lord of the city of pleasure was extremely religious. None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If he was asleep, the attendants were authorized to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer. And *Farishta* writes: "It is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face and pulled him out of bed before he would rise, but that on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper."

The following extract from Mr. J. Campbell's paper on Mandu fittingly describes the time:—

"The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen

years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm. When in 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Delhi against Malwa, the talk of Mandu was of Bahlol's approach; but no whisper of it passed into the charmed city of women. At last the son-minister forced his way to the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger, the soldier spirit awoke, and Ghias-ud-din's orders for meeting the invasion were so prompt and well planned that the King of Delhi payed a ransom and withdrew. A second period of rest followed, and ended with Nasar-ud-din once more forcing his way into the Presence.

The son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and bade him drink. The king, whose armlet of bezvar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him unworthy the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man, and prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge. He then drank the poison and died." ¹ A. D. 1500

With reference to this crime, it is explained that the younger brother, Allah-ud-din, in view of their father's advanced age, resolved either to depose his elder brother (Nasir-ud-din) after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death. The contention between the two princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mandu. Having collected a force, however, he returned and besieged the fort, and using the influence which as Prime Minister he had gained during the whole of his father's reign won over certain officers within, who opened the Tarapur gate for his admission. On his entrance, Allah-ud-din fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio. A. D. 1499 A. D. 1500.

On his succession to the throne, *Nasir-ud-din* had to deal with a series of domestic feuds. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by the Governor of Mandisaur and other malcontent nobles, raised the standard of rebellion. In this and the following year, ^{6th King of Malwa, and 3rd of Khilji dynasty.} A. D. 1500-12

¹ Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. Society, † Article XI., "Mandu," by J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., etc. Vol. XIX., No. LII.

however, they were defeated and the rebellion quelled. On his return to Mandu, Nasir-ud-din gave himself up to debauchery, and further devoted himself to discover and put to death all the adherents of his brother. His personal servants even did not escape his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir he fell into it, and was pulled out by four of his female slaves. On awaking with a violent headache, the women in order to account for his condition mentioned what had occurred, at which he was so enraged that he drew his sword and killed them all with his own hands.

A. D. 1502. In 1502, the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kichiwaru, and on arriving at Akbarpur,¹ built a splendid palace, which was much admired at that time. Having plundered the Kichiwaru country, he returned to Mandu, and in the following year proceeded towards Chitore. Here he succeeded in extracting a large present in money from the Rana, and procured as a wife a daughter of one of the Rajput nobles. He also directed a campaign against Ahmed Nizam Shah of the Deccan, who had attacked the Chief of Khandesh, then subordinate to Malwa. The result of these operations was that the Deccan Chief retired to Ahmednagar, while Nasir-ud-din's forces occupied Burhanpur.

A. D. 1512. In 1512, the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecutions and cruelty of Nasir-ud-din, persuaded his son, Shahab-ud-din, to assume the government. For this purpose, the latter left Mandu and collected a large force, but was opposed and defeated by the king and thereupon fled to Delhi. Farishta says that shortly after this Sultan Nasir-ud-din was seized with a fever brought on by excess at the town of Bhurtpur, from which illness he died. But another version, which is confirmed by Jehangir's memoirs, has it, that he repeated his former experiences in the reservoir, whence on this occasion no pitying female pulled him out.

A. D. 1502. Prior to his death, he had nominated his third son Mahmûd as his successor.

¹ It is difficult to locate this place. Campbell identifies it with the village of Akbarpur on the S. bank of the Narbada about 15 miles from Mandu. It is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence and bear no resemblance to those of Mandu. Moreover the Kichiwaru country lies far to the north of Mandu, the Chiefs of Baghugarh being the present descendants of the old Kichiwaru Rajputs, who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.

He was buried at Mandu and the Emperor Jehangir thus describes his visit to his tomb : "It is related that when during his reign Sher Khan Atghan Sur visited Nasir-ud-din's grave, he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre, I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this, I ordered his bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Nerbada." A. D. 1540-55.

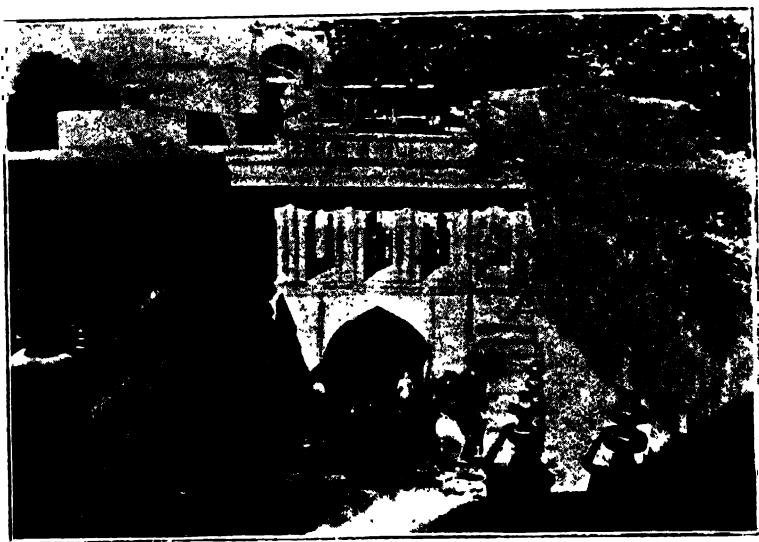
Mahmūd on his succession assumed the title of *Mahmūd the Second*. As showing the wealth and power to which the Mandu Kings had now attained, Farishta relates that at his coronation no fewer than seven hundred elephants with velvet trappings embroidered in gold formed part of the procession. A revolt on the part of Mahafiz Khan, Commandant of Mandu, made with the object of securing the succession of Nasir-ud-din's second son, prince Sahib Khan, forced Mahmūd to leave his capital. The king, however, succeeded in attracting to his standard many of the nobles of the surrounding districts, chief amongst them being Medni Rai, a Rajput. With his army he returned towards Mandu, and a severe engagement took place, the result of which was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry. Sahib Khan was obliged to take refuge in the fort, and Sultan Mahmūd in consideration of their relationship was ready to offer him terms. These, however, were refused, on which Mahmūd commenced a regular siege, and Sahib Khan and Mohafiz Khan, fearing treachery from within, fled to Gujerat. 7th King of Malwa, 4th of Khilji dynasty. A. D. 1512-30.

During the next few years, Medni Rai, who had acquired A. D. 1513. complete control over the king, succeeded in removing the Mahomedans from all posts of influence, and in becoming practical arbiter of the State. On one occasion, Mahmūd, recognizing that power was going from his hands, endeavoured to improve the situation by dismissing his entire Rajput army. Medni Rai, however, gained him over, and the Rajputs remained. A second time, apparently irritated beyond endurance by the helplessness of his position, he ordered his attendants to waylay Medni Rai and a certain Rajput officer Saliwahan, and to kill them. They were accordingly attacked, and the latter was killed, but Medni Rai escaped to his house. The Rajputs hearing of the death of Saliwahan attacked the palace, but the king, "who though a

fool had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger," beat them back. Eventually Medni Rai was again taken into favour, but being ever after suspicious of his master's intentions, he always attended the palace with an escort of five hundred men. "This measure so greatly disturbed the king's mind," says Farishta, "that one night, leaving the fort of Mandu with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he
A. D. 1517. arrived on the borders of Gujerat." Here he was well received and after collecting an army, Muzaffar, king of Gujerat, accompanied him towards Malwa.

Having arrived at Dhar, which immediately surrendered, the two kings marched to Mandu and laid siege to that fortress. After a close investment, which lasted some months, Mandu was taken by assault, and it is said that 19,000 Rajputs were slain including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Jaur*, i.e., ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. While Sultan Mahmûd entered Mandu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhar, where he received an invitation from Mahmûd as follows : "Mandu is a splendid fort, you should come and see it;" to which Muzaffar replied: "May Mandu bring good fortune to Sultan Mahmûd—he is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the prayers in Mahmûd's name, I will return." Having thus visited Mandu, where he was magnificently entertained, the generous Muzaffar retired to Gujerat, leaving a force of three thousand men to help to guard the hill. Immediately afterwards Mahmûd marched against Medni Rai, and Rana Sanga of Chitore coming to the assistance of the latter, a great battle was fought. Despite the extraordinary bravery which Mahmûd showed on this occasion, the Malwa army was totally defeated, and the king himself, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Rana Sanga treated him with every mark of attention, dressed his wounds, and attended him in person, and after his recovery furnished him with an escort of a thousand Rajput horse and sent him to Mandu, where he reassumed the reins of government.

A. D. 1526. In 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chand Khan, and to Razi-ul-mulk, a refugee Gujerat noble, Mahmûd incurred the wrath of Bahadur Shah, who had succeeded his father Muzaffar on the throne of Gujerat.



A WELL IN THE DHAR CITY.

Bahadur apparently did not wish to press matters to extremity, and it was only when it was evident that Mahmūd did not desire a peaceful settlement that he advanced against Mandu. Mahmūd defended the place with 3,000 men, and the defence was gallantly maintained until the Gujeratis having scaled Songarh rushed down the slope and burst into the fort. May 20th.
A. D. 1528.

Mahmūd was forced to surrender, and would probably have received kind treatment, but his temper got the better of his judgment, and he abused his conqueror to his face, whereupon he was despatched with his seven sons to the fort of Champaner. On the way the detachment was attacked by 2,000 Bhils and Kolis at Dohad. Asuf Khan, the commander of the escort, imagining that the assault was made with the purpose of effecting Mahmūd's release, ordered him and his sons to be put to death. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty, and until 1534 Mandu remained under Gujerat. A. D. 1528.
End of Khilji
dynasty.

In that year, Humayun Badshah marched against Gujerat, and having defeated Bahadur Shah at Mandisaur followed him to Mandu. He succeeded in capturing the fort in the same way that Bahadur had surprised Mahmūd's garrison. Sending two hundred men to the back of the fortress, they scaled the south-west heights of Songarh and opened the gate to let in their compatriots. Bahadur apprised by Mallū Khan of what had happened rushed out with four or five attendants, and being joined by some 20 others reached the gate by which Humayun's troops had entered. Cutting their way through these they gained the citadel of Songarh, and while two of Bahadur's chiefs, Suddar Khan and Sultan Alam Lodi, maintained themselves in the citadel, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliffs by ropes, and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaner. On the following day, Suddar Khan and Alam Lodi surrendered to Humayun. A. D. 1534.
Conquest of
Mandu by
Humayun.

In 1535, owing to the revolt in Bengal, Humayun was forced to retire from Gujerat and withdrew to Mandu. Thence, as fortune was still against him, he returned to Agra.

Shortly afterwards, Mallū Khan, one of the officers of the late Khilji dynasty, retook all the country lying between the Nerbada and the town of Bhilsa, and had himself crowned in Mandu under the title of Khadar Shah of Malwa. It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, then king of Bengal, a letter written

in the form of an order¹ requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a document of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said: "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address." Consequently when that monarch ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa.

1545-53. Khadar Shah went to do homage at Sarangpur, where he was well received, though his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan. Nervous at what would next happen, Khadar Shah fled to Gujerat. Later, however, he returned with a large force and attacked Mandu, the Governor of which was then Hajee Khan. Hearing of his arrival, Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar, and attacking Khadar Shah forthwith completely defeated him. During the reign of Sher Shah's successor, Selim Shah, Shujaat was forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Selim and reinstated in his government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Bajazeed, who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

Farishta says: "Among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa." So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

1555. After defeating and killing his brother Daulut Khan, who had control of the Ujjain and Sarangpur districts, and asserting his authority in other parts of Malwa, Bajazeed was crowned at Mandu under the title above mentioned. He then undertook a campaign against the Gonds, but his army having been drawn into an ambush, he was completely defeated and had to make his way alone to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected by this disgraceful defeat that to drive away the memory of it he abandoned himself to pleasure.

At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and it is said that Baz Bahadur devoted himself to its cultivation and encouragement. His attachment to

¹ Parwana as opposed to a Kharita.



THE PALACE OF BAZ BAHADUR.

Rup Mati at that time became notorious, and the "Loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati" have been handed down to posterity in song.

The following is one of the stories: Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nerbada. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargal*¹ tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand.

The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures: "When the Nerbada shall flow through Mandu, I will be thy bride, but not till then."

"Mandu is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nerbada; nevertheless, Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love;—repair to Mandu, to a spot which overlooks our flood; search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found; beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river."

"The king obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain² to the baths of the palace."

¹ Ficus parasitica.

² The Rewa Kund—*vide map*.

"Rup Mati's father, who was the Thakur of Dharampuri, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her, but in whose race the pride of caste is a besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Durga,—her corpse to be consumed on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nerbada. She chants the Song of Death, but when about to drink the bowl, the Prince of Mandu rides up, and after a manly combat carries off Rup Mati to Mandu to become his queen."

The temple on the bank of the Nerbada is still shown at Dharampuri, on which Rup Mati's Gurn nightly lit his lamp to mark for the Hindu maiden the line of the sacred stream.

But to revert to history, Akbar taking advantage of the condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army with Adham Khan in command to occupy the country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement until the Moghuls had arrived close to Sarangpur. He immediately collected an army and entering on the field of action "with as little concern as if going into the company of females" he led the attack. Although he personally behaved with the greatest gallantry, his troops deserting him, he was compelled to fly and took refuge with Miran Mobarik of Khandesh in Asirgarh.

Meantime Pir Mahomed, who had succeeded Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa, followed Baz Bahadur into Khandesh, and penetrating as far as Burhanpur, totally devastated the country. On this Miran Mubarik Khan called Fazal Khan of Berar to his aid, and an alliance was formed. The Moghul troops glutted by debauch, refused to fight, and their leader was compelled to retreat towards Malwa. The allied forces immediately followed, and an action was fought on the banks of the Nerbada, in which the Moghuls were totally defeated, and Pir Mahomed himself with many others was drowned in the river. The confederates continued their march to Mandu, where Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins

- A. D. 1561. of government. Scarcely had he done so, however, when Akbar despatched a second army under Abdullah Khan Uzbek to again conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur on this occasion apparently offered no resistance, but fled to Gondwana, where he remained, except for
- A. D. 1570. occasional sallies against the Moghul power until 1570, when he gave himself up to Akbar, and was appointed a commander of 2,000 cavalry. He died some time prior to 1590, and according to the

Âin-i-Akbari "Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati are buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain."

In 1573 Abdullah Khan, having evinced symptoms of revolt, Akbar had made a sudden incursion into Malwa. Abdullah retreated to Gujerat, but opposed such a steady resistance to the king that the latter, who was accompanied by a small body of cavalry only, had to retreat to Mandu. Here Farishta records he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the Khilji kings, and it was here he married the daughter of Mubarik, King of Khandesh, who came to do him homage. Abul Fazl refers to Mandu at this period as being one of the 28 towns in the Empire where copper coins were minted.

In 1584 Mirza Aziz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar, was Governor of Malwa, and in 1590 was succeeded by Shab-ud-din Ahmed Khan, who died in the same year, and was followed by the Emperor's own son Prince Murād Mirza. It was at this time (A. D. 1592) that Akbar again visited Mandu, when on his way to the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been transferred to Gujerat, having started on a pilgrimage to Mekka without leave, Prince Murād was ordered thither, and Shahrukh Mirza, to whom Akbar had married one of his daughters two years previously, was appointed Governor of Malwa, and held the appointment until 1605.

Meantime Mirza Khan, the son of Byrām, known as the Khan Khanān, halted for some time at Mandu while on his way to chastise the Chiefs of the Deccan. Later, Akbar sent his son Daniāl with powerful reinforcements for the same purpose, and in the same year he himself followed and again took up his residence in Mandu. Akbar returned to Agra from the conquest of the Deccan in 1602, and died there three years afterwards.

Although during this time Mandu continued to be nominally one of the four capitals of the Empire, it is evident that with the final overthrow of Baz Bahadur it lost its former lustre. We learn from Jehangir, who visited it twelve years after Akbar's death, and thanks to whose magnificence the ancient fortress again could bear its long-forgotten title of Shadiabad that the buildings had fallen into disrepair so complete that an expenditure of three lakhs was necessary to render them habitable. Of the condition of Mandu at this time one cannot do better than let the Imperial diarist speak for himself.

His entry into Mandu he describes as follows : —

“On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three *ghalis*) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top, I scattered Rs.15,000. Before my arrival, Abdul Karim, the Engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty.”

“This fortress,” he continues, “stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájít, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaising Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher’s stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher’s stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress, which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith, on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the

close of his life, when king Jaising Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Nerbada close to Mandu. He gave each Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Nerbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies." The Emperor continues: "On the 20th of Farwardán, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Maudu, I conferred on my Engineer, Abdul Karim, the command of 12,000 horse, with the title of Maâmúr Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified, and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur:—

"On the fourth of the first month of Farwardáu (16th March), the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagur lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahúdis* (*garde du corps*) and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi'Bihisht (18th April 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said: 'Be it so.' In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Ashrafis

(Rs.4,500) to be scattered over Nur Jehan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days continuously, and Jehangir's description of the break which follows is delightful: "What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India: one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpúr, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Júr, the sixth month of the Persian Calendar (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."



ANCIENT STONE LANTERN NALCHA TANK.

Of its social delights he writes as follows :—

“ On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amárdád, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságar Lake which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amárdád (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehan Begum in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire.”

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is :—

“ On the night of Friday, in the month of Abán, in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the lake of Nalcha.”

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James to the Great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.¹

Shah Jehan spent the rains of 1622 in Mandu, and in 1627 A. D. 1622. appointed Khan Jehan Lodi as Governor of Malwa. There is no record of Aurangzebe having visited the place, except an inscription on the Alungir gate to the effect that it was repaired by his order.

The Mahrattas took Mandu for the first time in 1696, but retired again to the south almost immediately. As already recorded, Udaji Rao Puar² occupied the Fort in 1709, and the Mahomedan

A. D. 1696.
The Mahrattas invasion.

¹ See Roe in Kerr's "Travels" IX.

² Ancestor of the present Chief.

supremacy finally came to an end with the Mahratta victory at Tirla in 1734. From that time onwards, Mandu has remained deserted except for a short period at the commencement of the last century, when it sheltered Maina Bai, the famous Rani of Dhar, against the attacks of Sindhia and Holkar, and where she gave birth to her son, Ramechunder Rao Puar. Fifteen years later, A. D. 1803. Malcolm in his history describes the hill as a resort of religious mendicants. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Farishta, writing in 1827, says :—

“ Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the once famous city of Mandu. The capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them.”

A. D. 1839. Fergusson, twelve years later, describes the vegetation as tearing the buildings of the city to pieces, and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen, and in 1844 “ A Bombay Subaltern ” A. D. 1844. writes that it was dangerous to venture unarmed among the ruins of the Jahaz Mahal, as it was a favourite retreat for tigers.

The times have changed. No tiger has been seen in Mandu for the last thirty years, and the once famous capital is now the head-quarters of a small Tehsil of the Dhar State.

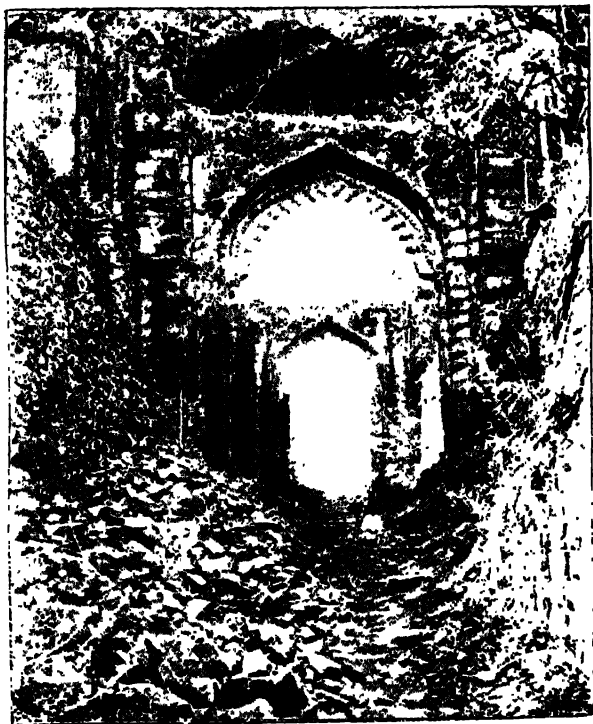
CHAPTER V.

Mandu — its Buildings.

In the *Âin-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl describes Mandu as a large city, the circumference of which is 12 “Kos.” He mentions the existence “of Mahmud Khilji’s Tower of Victory, and adds that for some period Mandu was the seat of Government, and stately edifices still recall their ancient Lords.” “Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultans * * * Here the tamarind (*Adansonia digitata*) grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.”¹

Twenty years later (circa, A. D. 1612), Farishta thus describes the place :—

¹ *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett’s translation, p. 196.



THE DELHI GATE.

"This fortification is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos (28 miles) in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

It is by this road that we now enter Mandu.

Descending the slope and crossing the neck of land which connects the hill with the main Vindhyan Range, the lower fortifications are entered at the Alamgir gate, which bears the following inscription:—

The Alamgir Gate.

"In the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb, the ruler of the world, this gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew. In the year A. H. 1079 the work of renewal was begun and completed by the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammed Beg Khan from the accession of the Emperor of the world, Aurangzeb, this was the eleventh year by way of writing history."

The old road leads thence by a stone causeway over the ancient ditch to a second gate known as the Banghi Darwaza, where tradition has it that on the completion of the fort and of this gateway a sweeper was immured alive.

The Banghi Gate.

Continuing onwards, the old paved road rises sharply to the edge of the plateau where stands the Delhi gate which, although much ruined, still preserves its elegance and beauty of outline. No inscription is available to show when this gate was built.

The Delhi Gate.

It may be convenient to mention here the other gates on the hill.

The "Ghari Darwaza." Close to the Delhi gate to the east is that now known as the "Ghari Darwaza," i.e., Carriage Gate. The road leading up to it leaves the old paved roadway close to the Alamgir gate, and is the only entrance into Mandu practicable for wheeled traffic. This gate also bears no inscription, and has no architectural interest.

The Rampol Gate. Continuing round the edge of the hill eastwards we come to the Rampol gate at a short distance from the modern village of Mandu, and about 50 yards from the edge of the cliff. This gate, which has no inscription and is not mentioned in any history, is somewhat difficult to explain, as no roadway leads from it to the valley. It is obviously of very ancient date and would seem to be a relic of the old Hindu city.

The Jehangirpur Gate. The Jehangirpur gate gives access from Gujri to the eastern portion of the fort. Its construction is ascribed to the time of Jehangir, when a Pergunnah of the same name was created. The revenue division still exists in name, but in fact the village of Jehangirpur is deserted, except for a few Bhil huts, and the head-quarters of the Pergunnah are now at Gujri, four miles distant in the valley below. The road down the hill is a mere track. There is no inscription on this gate, but the ancient walls on either side are in good preservation.

The Bhagwanian Gate. On the southern face of the hill overlooking Nimar and the Nerbada valley are the Bhagwanian and Tarapur gates, named after the two villages at the foot of the hill to which each of them leads. The view from both gates is magnificent, and the Tarapur gate is particularly interesting both on account of its inscriptions and of the historical struggles for the possession of Mandu, of which it has so often been the scene.

A. D. 1519. The inscription on the Bhagwanian Darwaza is dated A. H. 923, taking us back to the reign of Mahmūd II., the last Khilji king of Mandu. It reads thus:—

"This gate was built under the orders of Mirza Mahommed, son of Mirza Badu Uz-Zaman of Meshed by Mohamed Husein of Meshed in the month of Jamadi-Jussan, A. H. 923."

The Tarapur Gate. The Tarapur gate has two inscriptions; that on the upper gate shows it was commenced by Dilawar Khan Ghori, the 1st king of Mandu, and completed in the year following his death.



THE SONGARI GATE.

The second inscription, let into the more modern portion of the structure, shows that repairs to the gateway were carried out by one Sahib Mahomed Hussein during Akbar's time. The difference in construction of the upper and lower gates is very striking, the older portion bearing all the evidences of Hindu art and workmanship, while the lower gates are similar in design to the remaining gates of the fort, and all traces of Hindu influence is absent. The following is the translation of the two inscriptions.

A. D. 1406.
A. H. 809.

On the upper doorway :—

“This gate, of which there is none finer in any other city, was built in the town of Shadiabad by Dilawar Khan, the head of Islam and leader of the community, most great in dignity and kind, ever Victorious and Powerful, Generous and Liberal. This door by the grace of God was completed in A. H. 809.”

A. D. 1406.

On the main gate :—

“In the reign of Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Akbar Badshah this beggar (fakir) Sahib Mohamed Hussain Imad-ud-din, son of Sultan Ali of Sabswar, repaired this road by the grace of God in the year A. H. 1014.”

A. D. 1605.

From here a steep paved road, quite impassable for carts, leads down the hillside to Tarapur village and beyond to Dharamपुरi and the Nerbada river. The village of Tarapur, now a mere agglomeration of Bhil huts, must have been a large place when Mandu was in its prime. An inscription recently found in an old “baori” states that Nazir-ud-din granted land in this village to a certain Mahājān Baia among his following for the construction of a garden and of a well.

A. D. 1500-
1512.

There are two gates on the N.-W. face of Mandu. That known as the Songarh Gate was rebuilt by Maina Bai, the great Rani of Dhar, at the commencement of the 19th century. There is no access to it from the valley below, and it forms the entrance to the citadel of Mandu, the scene of the famous exploit of Bahadur Shah, when after the capture of the main fort by Humayun he fought his way to the citadel, and thence, while two of his followers defended the gate, let himself down over the edge of the cliff and effected his escape to Gujerat.

The Songarh
Gate.

Finally, overlooking the wild country to the N.-W. of Mandu is the Lowani gate, whence a very rough and steep paved road,

The Lowani
Gate.

similar to that at Tarapur, leads to the Lowani country. This gate is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Mandu, but it is now in ruins, and there is no inscription to show from what time it dates. On the edge of the cliff is a stone "lat" evidently of Hindu origin, and scattered round close by are numerous fragments of carved pillars and a few defaced images of the Hindu pantheon.

To return now to the Ghari Darwaza by which the traveller will ordinarily enter Mandu. The road leads westwards past the Delhi gate to the beautiful mass of ruined palaces in which the Khilji kings held their court. The wall which enclosed this whole area is in places still standing, and the road enters the enclosure between a much-ruined mosque, a miniature in architectural form of the great Jama Masjid, and the gate now known as the Hatipol, which was probably the main northern entrance to the palace. On each side of this gate is the remains of a life-sized model of an elephant. These figures are built of blocks of red sandstone, and were evidently covered with white marble plaster. They are probably relics of the days of Mahmūd II., when Rajput influence was supreme in Mandu. At present only the legs and lower halves of the bodies remain with a low stone erection in front on which the trunk rested.

The principal buildings within the enclosure are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the Toweli Mahal, the Nahar Jhiroka and the Champa Baori, with the so-called Treasury and the ruin now known as Gadhassa's¹ palace, but what is much more probably the *Koshak-jehan-namah*² palace, mentioned in *Farishta* as having been built by Ghias-ud-din. Close to this are two more fine "Baoris," one known as the *Ujál* (bright) and the other as the *Andher* (dark), from the fact that the former is completely open to the light and air, and the latter altogether roofed in.

Much damage has been done by time and nature to these magnificent ruins, but the spirit of the place is there, and one can still reconstruct in imagination the splendour of the time when Ghias-ud-din, quitting the scenes of turmoil of his youth, held here his court, and so that no unsightly thing should strike his eye, ruled that within these walls only the fairest of the fairer sex should dwell.

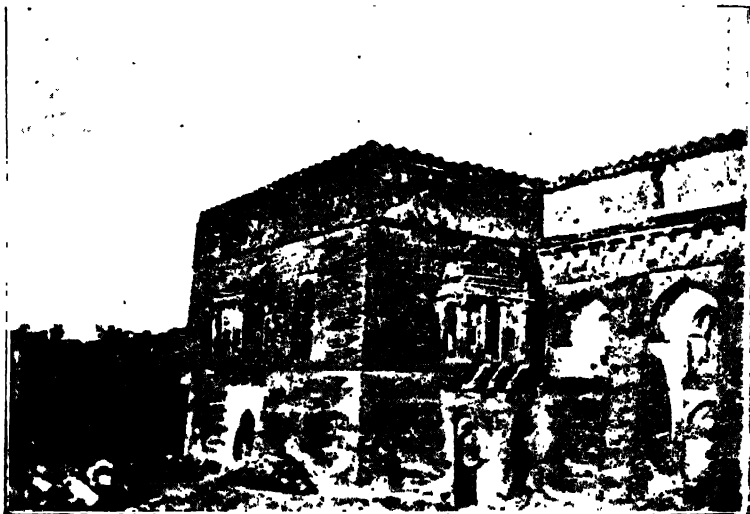
¹ According to tradition, a great Mahajan of the time of the Khiljis.

² Palace whence all the world is seen.

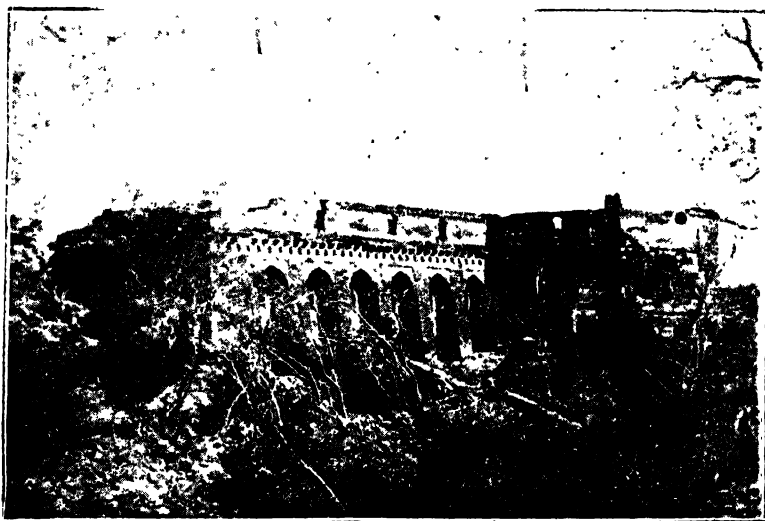


THE MASS OF RUINED PALACES.





THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE WEST.



The prognostications of those who visited Mandu in the first half of the nineteenth century have happily not been fulfilled. The "larger vaulted halls, of which Fergusson speaks, are still entire, "and the courts are still surrounded by arcades of great beauty."

The massive masonry and design of the Hindola Palace, which *The Hindola Mahal.* has withstood better perhaps than the other buildings the ravages of time, is most striking. The sloping buttressed walls, the deep windows, and the long lofty hall suggest some old Chapter house or Refectory, and have a style and grandeur all their own.

Passing through this building and along the northern bank of *The Champa Baori.* the lake, we come to the Champa Baori and the tangled mass of ruins above and below ground which surround it. A portion of one of the bathing houses remains intact and shows the care, thought, and elegance that was bestowed in a Mahomedan palace on this important part of the building.

The Jahaz Mahal with its long low façade stands as the centre *The Jahaz Mahal.* of this group of palaces. Seen from either side but especially from the west where it overhangs the lake, it is very beautiful, while from the terraced roof a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. The main doorway in the centre of the eastern face is exceedingly well built and in very good preservation. This is probably due to renewal at the hands of Karim Khan, Jehangir's engineer, as it would seem that it was in this palace that the great king made his head-quarters during his stay in *A. D. 1617.* Mandu. In the centre of the lake stand the ruins of the palace *A. H. 1025.* last occupied by Shah Jehan Begum, who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu. The main gateway is worthy of notice, the arch being of entirely different design to that common in Mandu.

North of the Hindola and forming part of the walled enclosure *The Nahar Jhirkha.* is the Nahar Jhirkha. The marble-framed window set in the northern wall with its small platform and cupola has given this building its name. It was seated at this window (jhirkha) that the king used to receive daily in the morning (nahar) the salutations of his court.

Outside to the north of the whole enclosure lies the most ancient *Mosque of Dilawar Khan.* mosque in Mandu, the inscription which is given below showing it to have been built by Dilawar Khan Ghorī in *A. H. 808.* A. D. 1405.

Translation of inscription.

A. D. 1405. "Dilawar Khan, the guardian of religion, who is as an assistant to the Prophet, and supporter of his people. High as the sky in honour and like the angels in aspect. Whose actions are unrivalled, and whose majesty and dignity is great, who is praised by all, who is wealthy, happy, and of good health, over whose actions God watches and is always present to render him aid in his work.

By the grace of the Almighty God and in an auspicious hour. He (Dilawar Khan) laid the foundation of this mosque in the Fort of Mandu in A. H. 808.

It resembles the kaaba whereof a copy stands in the sky.

By the grace of Jesus, Son of the Blessed Virgin Miriam, and of Moses, son of Amran, may he be always blest by God."

More modest in proportions than the Lat Musjid built by him at Dhar, this building has a rugged simplicity which is decidedly attractive. The low pitch of the whole structure has probably helped to maintain it in fair preservation through more than 500 years. The materials from which it is built are evidently taken from Hindu shrines.

*The Taweli
Mahal.*

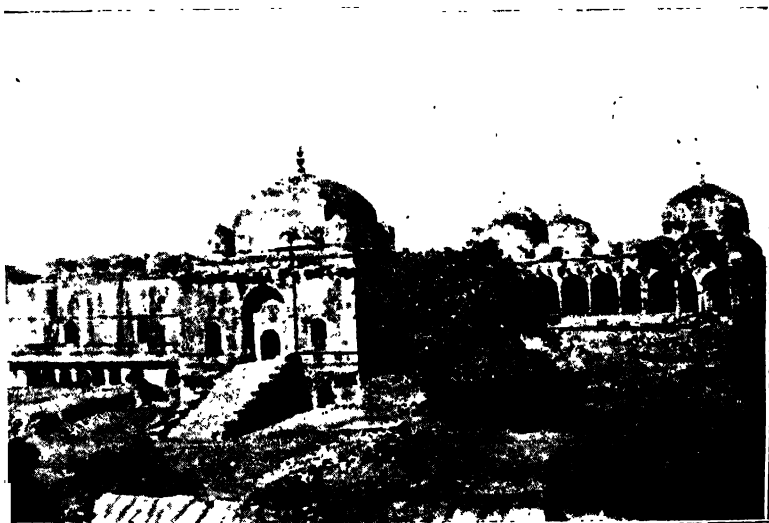
Retracing our way back, passed the Jahaz Mahal and out through the gateway by the Taweli Palace, the quarters of Ghias-ud-din's amazon guard, the road leads winding through the jungle to those buildings which were and indeed still are the glory of Mandu. The tomb of Hoshang and the great mosque commenced by that prince and completed by his more illustrious successor Mahmud.

*Hoshang's
Tomb and
Mosque.*

"Though the badly fitting joining of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Moghul buildings, Hoshang's tomb in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. On the western side of the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, the pillars which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline, the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-Mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined



THE ENTRANCE OF THE JUMMA MUSJID.





INTERIOR JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.”¹

* Fergusson considers that these pillars were taken from a Jain building ; and certainly the colonnade has the appearance of having been taken bodily from some Jain temple, of which, according to tradition, there were several on the shores of the Sagar lake.

Hoshang's mosque was completed in A. D. 1454. The entrance porch is a massive domed building projecting from the centre of the east face. Over the marble-lined doorway is the following much damaged Persian inscription :—

The Great Mosque.
A. H. 858.

“ The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude.

“ Whose every pillar is like to those of the ‘ Kaba ’

“ And (where) angels like the pigeons of the ‘ Kaba ’ make their circles round it, desiring to show it their respect.

“ When he came to a full age and had passed through the merciless revolutions of the skies

“ Aazam Humayun (i.e., Malik Mughis) said—

“ The administration of the country, the construction of buildings and the defeat of our enemies,

“ Are things which I leave to you (my son) as parting advice with great earnestness.

“ The personification of the goodness of Providence, the Sultan Alla-ud-din (Mahmūd I.)

“ The Light of Religion and the satisfier of the wants of the people

“ In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454).

“ In the words of this parting advice, finished the construction of this building.”

The interior of the court in its simple grandeur and expression of power may, according to Fergusson, be taken as one of the very best specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in India. It is almost an exact square enclosed on the east, north and south by

¹ “ Mandu ” by J. M. Campbell, Esq., No. LII., Vol. XIX, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.

² History of Architecture, p. 686, Vol. II.

colonnades, portions of which are sadly ruined. The west face with its three lofty domes and great pointed arches is in fair repair.

*Tower of
Victory.*

A. D. 1442-3.
A. H. 846.

Opposite the Jama Musjid are the ruins of Mahmūd's great Tower of Victory, and beneath it the college erected by the same king. Only a fragment of this tower remains to show that it was faced with white marble slabs inlaid with black stone. But history records that it was seven stories high, and the existing basement gives us an idea of its size. The fates have been hard on Mandu in this particular instance. The tower was built by Mahmūd in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Khumbu of Chittore: it is now an utter ruin while the Rana's great Tower of Victory at Chittore built about twelve years later in token of his victory over this same Mahmūd stands practically intact, and is among the most perfect models of the Hindu architecture of those days. Who shall say that this is not an emblem of the permanence so characteristic of all Hindu life and thought?

To the north-east of the square stand the modern public offices and state-endowed temple of Mandu. Southward the road leads to the Sagar lake, and is lined on either side for a short distance by the mean huts which go to form the modern village. A road branching to the eastward leads to the Lal Bungalow and beyond to what is locally known as the Sath Sao Siri (700 steps), where the walls of the fort leaving the crest of the hill dip down to a ravine some 700 feet in depth, and rise again on the opposite side to the crest close to the Jehangirpur gate.

A. D. 1526.

It has up to the present not been possible to fix the date of construction of the Lal Bungalow, but it is hoped that from a broken inscription in the Tugra character, which was found within the enclosure, it will be possible to "locate" this building. The site of this building, fixed as it is on the edge of a masonry enclosed tank buried in the jungle, is extremely romantic. It was here that the final scene in the history of the Khilji Kings was enacted, when Mahmūd II. surrendered to his conqueror, Bahadur Shah of Gujerat.

The environments of the Sagar lake have suffered much from the recent drought, as many of the "spreading mango trees" along its banks are now mere skeletons. To the east of it and

forming the end of the encamping ground is the smaller Jama Masjid built by Málík Mughis in 1432 A. D. The entrance door of which bears the following inscription :—

“With good omens, at a happy time and in a lucky and well-starred year

“On the 4th of the month of Alláh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday,

“In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah

“Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

“This Islâmi mosque was founded in this world,

“The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

“The construction of this mosque was due to Mughis-ud-din-wadunya (Málík Mughis), the father of Mahmúd I. of Mál-wa (A. D. 1435—1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

“Ulugh (brave) Aázam (great) Humáyn (august) the Khán of the seven climes and of the nine countries,

“By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

“That some call it the house of Peace, others style it the Kaûba.

“This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwál. A. H. 835.
A. D. 1432.

“May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khán's actions!

“In this centre may the praises of the sermon read by Mahmúd Shah

“Be everlasting so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.”

This mosque must have been a jewel, and makes the ruin which has overtaken it all the more distressing. Here there can be no doubt of the Hindu origin of the material used for the building, and the elegance of outline of the entrance porch even in its ruined state is fascinating. Opposite is what was Málík Mughis' palace, and a little beyond that prince's tomb, the black dome of which is “brightened by a belt of brilliant, pale, and deep-blue enamel.”

Beyond again on the right is the so-called Dhai-ka-Mahal,¹ and close by, the "Dhai-ki-Choti Bhain-ka-Mahal,"² of which there is nowhere historic mention.

The "Bombay Subaltern," writing in 1843, remarks "on our right, and on the high ground to the south of the Sagar lake are the walls of the Shikarikot, said to have been built by Baz Bahadur; in different directions are domed pavilions from which the great men of those days used to observe the contests of elephants hawking and any other spectacle that might offer."

To the writer it seems more probable that these buildings were some of the ordinary houses or tombs of the richer classes, more specially as the road which winds below them is lined with the remains of what were evidently houses of a meaner sort used probably by their retainers and servants.³

The road continues southwards to the Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur's palace, and finally to Rup Mati's pavilion—perhaps the most delightful spot in Mandu.

The Rewa Kund.

The Rewa Kund, the pool or spring where to meet Rup Mati's wishes, the Nerbada is said "to have made its appearance on the mountain top" lies to the west of the road immediately opposite to the palace of Baz Bahadur. It is a small masonry-lined tank, and a ruined bathing house is on one side of it.

Baz Bahadur's Palace.

A fine, easy flight of steps leads from its north-east corner up the slope on which the palace of the last independent king of Mandu stands. On the left a portion of the lofty aqueduct by which the holy water of the Kund was introduced into the palace is still standing. On the entrance arch of Baz Bahadur's palace is a Persian inscription which shows that although the latter may have repaired the building it owes its origin to Nazir-ud-din. It runs thus:—

A. D. 1500,
1512.

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most learned and magnificent Sultan Nazir Shah Khilji, written by Yusuph the year A. H. 914."

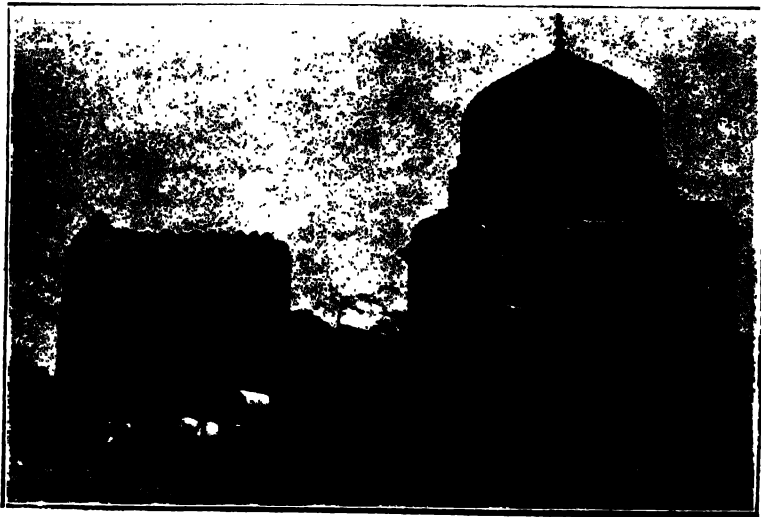
A. D. 1509.

Much of the marble from this building, especially from the balcony overlooking Mandu, has been mercilessly mutilated by a former generation; but happily some of the sides of the courtyards are intact, as also are the cupolas, which surmount the colonnades.

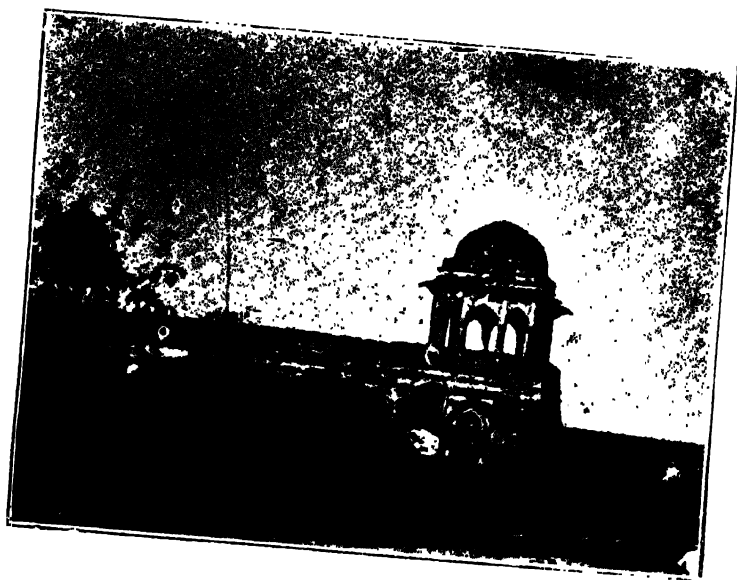
¹ i.e., the Nurse's Palace.

² i.e., the Palace of the nurse's young sister.

³ The Shikari Kot was probably much nearer Baz Bahadur's Palace. The walls of an enclosure are still visible to the east of this building.



THE DHAIR KA MAHAL.



THE PALACE OF RUP MATI.

On the hill immediately overhanging the palace and clear against the sky-line stands "Rup Mati's Chatri." Rup Mati's Pavilion.

"From a ground-floor of heavy masonry and arched gateways, stairs lead to the flat terrace, at the north and south ends of which are massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The southern pavilion (unhappily now much ruined) on the very edge of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mandu, with its guardian wall covering the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimar plain, brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Nerbada. The north pavilion through the fresh clear air of the hill-top looks over the entire stretch of Mandu from the high shoulder of Songarh in the extreme south-west across rolling tree brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush and the broad grey of the Sagar Lake to the five-dome cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof chambers of the Jahaz and the Toweli palaces, through the Delhi gateway, and beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the base level and low ranges of the Malwa plateau."¹

Though it seems ruthless to lessen the romance attached to this building so intimately connected with Rup Mati and her princely lover, it should be noted that on an inner archway of the lower floor is an inscription so damaged as to be only partly decipherable, which shows that at some period this building was used as a Dharamsala for poor and needy travellers who might climb up the hill.

We must now retrace our steps back to the Mandu village, and taking the road which leads south-west reach the edge of the cliff above "Nilkanth." A long flight of steps leads down to the deep shady dell, where a "Mahomedan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mandu."²

¹ S. M. Campbell, "Mandu" Journal of Bombay Branch, R. A. Society, No. LII., Vol. XIX.

² Campbell's "Mandu."

A. D. 1574. This is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574, and which Jehangir visited in A. D. 1617. It was built by Shah Budagh Khan during his tenure of office as Commandant of Mandu, and bears the following inscriptions :—

“Call it not waste to spend your life in water and earth (*i.e.*, in building).

“If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

“Written by Shah Budagh Khan in the year A. H. 982.”

A second inscription on the great southern arch reads thus :—

“This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, most munificent and just Khakan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the Shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God. Abu Fatah Yahal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

A. D. 1574. “Written by Faridin Husain, son of Hat-ul-ward, in the year A. H. 982.”

The stones of this inscription have been wrongly placed by some illiterate restorer, the latter portion of the inscription coming first, and the first one last. A third inscription on the right wall, which is dated A. D. 1591-92, runs as follows :—

“In the year A. D. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dekhan, the Slaves of the exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like throne, the Shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.”

“That time wastes your home, cease, soul to complain

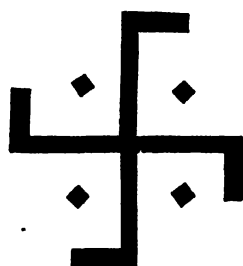
“Who will not scorn a complainer so vain;

“From the story of others this wisdom derive

“Ere nought of thyself but stories survive.”

Finally on the left wall is the fourth inscription dated A. D. 1600 :—

“The Shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar after the conquest of the Dekhan and Khandesh in the year 1009, set out for Hind.





"May the name of the writer last for ever !

"At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

"On the lofty wall-tops of Shirwan Shah's tomb,

"And the owl's plaintive hooting conveyed me this warning,

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness be dumb."

This spot is now the retreat of a Hindu recluse, and has probably, as its Hindu name implies, reverted to its former use. Its gentle occupant, however, has not improved its artistic appearance, and although this building is the only one in Mandu which has been kept in proper repair externally, its internal arrangement has now little in keeping with the memories of Akbar.

A few other buildings call for mention. The tomb of Daria Khan. Khan about half-way between the great mosque and the Sagar Lake on the left of the road, still bears portions of the texts from the Koran in coloured enamel tiles with which it was entirely decorated.

A little beyond in the jungle is a building locally known as the Hathi-Khana, "Hathi-Khana," but evidently a tomb, interesting on account of the four massive pillars which support the dome, and which are unique in their style in Mandu,

The palace known as that of "Chisti Khan," commander of the Chisti Khan's army in the time of Mahmūd Khilji, is a ruin beautifully situated palace. at the extreme north-east point of the hill. Here, too, is a sadly-damaged relic of what was once a most artistic piece of enamelled wall-decoration. Close by are vaults said to have been the magazines of the great Mahmūd. On the road to the Lal Bungalow, one passes two stone pillars evidently the "Dip stambhas" of a Hindu temple, while buried in the jungle to the west of the Jahaz Mahal is a large building said to have been the school of "Shah Baddar," a reputed sage. On the map attached to this paper, the position of numerous other buildings is shown, but the names given have a purely local significance, and are merely noted in order to assist the traveller when wandering with a local guide among these relics of the past.

ART. XII.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions*.—By DEVADATTA
RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Communicated, June 1902.]

I.—THE FIRST TWO ROCK-EDICTS OF PIYADASI :

1.—*The First Rock Edict.*

Transcript.

1. इय धंमलिपी देवानं प्रियेन
2. प्रियदसिना राज्ञा लेखापिता [१] इध न किं-
3. च्चि जीवं आरभिमा प्रज्जहितव्यं [१]
4. न च समाजो कतव्यो [१] बहुकं हि दोसं
5. समाजमिह पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा [१]
6. अस्ति पि च्च एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं
7. प्रियस प्रियदसिनो [१] पुग महानसमिह
8. देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो अनुद्विसं ब-
9. ह्मनि प्राणसत्तसहस्रानि आरभिसु सुपाथाय [१]
10. से अज यदा अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
11. णा आरभरे सुपाथाय द्दो मोरा एको मगो [१] सो पि
12. मगो न धुवो [१] एते पि जी प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे [१]

Translation.

This edict of righteousness¹ was caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.² No animal should here (on earth) be immolated and offered as a sacrifice ; nor should any convivial gathering³ be called ; for, king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in a convivial gathering. Certain⁴ convivial gatherings were (once) favourably regarded by Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods. Formerly in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, many hundreds of thousands of animals were day by day slaughtered for curry.⁵ But now when this edict of righteousness was written, only three animals were killed for curry, viz., two peacocks and one deer ; but even that deer not regularly. Even these three animals will not be afterwards killed.

Notes.

1. The word *dhammalipī*, which occurs in this as well as in many other edicts, has been translated 'righteousness-edict' by Dr. Kern, simply 'edict' by M. Senart, and 'religious edict' by Dr. Bühler. Strictly speaking, *lipī* means a *lekha*, and consequently *dhammalipī* is a *dharmalekha*, i.e., a writing of righteousness. But I have rendered the word *lipī* by 'edict,' as all these *dhammalipīs* were proclamations from king Piyaḍasi. I agree with Dr. Kern in taking *dhamma* to mean righteousness, for, wherever the word is used in the edicts,¹ it denotes no more than good moral acts. And this evidently is corroborated by the definition, which Piyaḍasi gives of *dhamma* in Pillar Edict II.

2. *Devānāṃpriya*:—On Pāṇini's *sūtra* VI. 3. 21. which deals with the genitive *aluk-samāsa*, Kātyāyana has the *Vārtika*: देवानां प्रिय इति च. From this it is plain that, in the time of the Vārtikakāra, *devānāṃpriya* had come into use, and was looked upon as one word. In his gloss on the *vārtika* भवदादियोगः appended to Pāṇini's *sūtra* V. 3. 14, Patañjali includes *devānāṃ-priya* under this भवदादिगण.² This indicates that, like *bharat* and the other words *dīrghāyus* and *āyushmat* comprised in that *gaṇa*, *devānāṃ-priya* also was employed as an auspicious mode of address or characterisation. In Rock Edict VIII., for *devānāṃ-priya* of some versions, we have the variant *rājāno* of others. The only legitimate conclusion that can be deduced therefrom is that *devānāṃ-priya* corresponds to *rājāno*. Coupling this fact with the inference we have drawn from what Patañjali has said, we find that *devānāṃ-priya* was an auspicious mode of address or characterisation used in the case of kings. In much later times the word came to have the derogatory sense of 'a dullard' in Sanskrit literature. But even so late as the time of the Kāśikākāra and Kaiyaṭa, we do not find this sense attached to the word *devānāṃ-priya*. The earliest instance of it, so far as I have been able to trace it, is to be met with in the Kāryaprakāśa: तेऽत्यन्ताल्पज्ञास्तात्पर्यवाचोयुक्तेर्देवानांप्रियाः.³ Here *devānāṃ-priya* obviously denotes a dunce. Hemachandra also gives *devānāṃ-priya* in his

¹ The word *dhamma* occurring in the bhabra edict only appears to have been used in a sense technical to Buddhism.

² Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, by Dr. Kielhorn, (Bo. Sk. Series) Vol. II., p. 405.

³ *Kāryaprakāśa*, by Vāmanaśāhārya Jhalakikar, (Bo. Sk. Series), p. 255.

lexicon as synonymous with *māḍha* and *jada*. Again, the word has been explained by Bhaṭṭōji Dīkshita in his *Siddhānta-kaumudī* as equivalent to *mārku*.¹ But whatever may have been the sense conveyed by *devānām-priya* in later times, it was not originally a degraded word, but was employed as an auspicious mode of characterisation with reference to kings.

It was Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji², who first drew attention to the fact that *devānām-priya* of some versions of Rock Edict VIII, corresponded to *rājāno* of others. He was also the first to show that *devānupriya* (*devānuppriya*) of the Jain *sūtras* was a corruption of *devānām-priya*. Dr. Hoernle doubts the correctness of this view inasmuch as *devānu* in *devānuppriya* is an anomalous form of the genitive *devānām* in *devānām-priya*.³ But it has been stated above that *devānām-priya* is mentioned by Kātyāyana as an instance of *aluk-samāsa*. We have, therefore, to regard it as one word, and for practical purposes ignore the existence of the genitive case termination, when pronouncing it. In other words, when we hear the word pronounced, we are not to look upon it as two separate words, of which *devānām* is the genitive plural of *dēva*, but to take it as one word, like other *sāmāsika* words, without noticing the case termination that there is in the body of the word. If this is true, it very much weakens the objection referred to above. For, when we say that *devānuppriya* is a corruption of *devānām-priya*, we mean that the one word *devānuppriya* is a corruption of the one word *devānām-priya*. We cannot thus legitimately split up *devānuppriya* and *devānām-priya* each into two words, and then ask ourselves whether *devānu* of the one can, by means of the rules of the Prākṛit dialects, be justified as a more developed form of the genitive *devānām* of the other. Dr. Hoernle's proposal to consider *devānuppriya* as equivalent to *devānupriya* is on the contrary, open to objection. For no authority has been adduced to show that *devānupriya* was ever used as a mode of address in the case of kings. And, so long as that authority is not forthcoming, *devānuppriya*, which is applied to kings even in the Jain *sūtras* cannot stand for *devānupriya*. But it has been shown above that *devānām-priya* was a mode of characterisation, and was often employed in connection with kings. It is, therefore, safer, on the whole, to

¹ Siddhāntakaumudī, No. 979.

² Ind. Ant. X. 108 ; see also J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 577-8 and 930.

³ Uvāsagatlasāo, Appendix III.

understand *devānūpriya* as a corruption of *devānū-priya* than of *devānupriya*, which has no existence in literature.

Although *devānūpriya* of some copies of Rock Edict VIII. corresponds to *rājāno* of others, it is not correct to regard the former as synonymous with, or equivalent to, the latter, as Mr. V. A. Smith appears to me to have done.¹ For, *rājā*, which is conjoined to the name of Piyadasi, together with *devānūpriya*, would, in that case, be superfluous. Again, the rendering 'his sacred majesty,' which he has proposed for *devānūpriya*, does not commend itself to me, as the phrase 'his sacred majesty' can be applied only to the head of a religious establishment, such *e.g.* as the Pope of Europe or the Śāṅkarācāryas of India, but can never with propriety be used with reference to a secular king.

I have, therefore, adhered to the rendering of *devānūpriya* by 'beloved of the gods.'

3. The word *samāja* seems to have very much exercised the antiquarians. According to most of them, it signifies 'a convivial or festive assembly.' Dr. Pischel² however, proposes the meaning 'battue' for it. Although the first sense is undoubtedly correct, nobody has yet been able to adduce any authority in support of it. That, I think, is now furnished by the reference to the Harivamsā given under समाज + कर् in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. It is as follows:—

द्विजाय ब्रह्मइत्याय इवै नाश्चैवरेभ्यजः। सजे समासे च तदा शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः

८१८९.

विसर्जयित्वा तत्क्षत्रं पाण्डवांश्च महाबलः। बिल्वोदकेष्वरस्याय समाजमकरो-

त्प्रभुः ८१९०.

मांससूपशताकीर्णं बह्वन्नं व्यञ्जनाकुलं। निर्युक्तकुशलान्मल्लान्देवो मल्लप्रियस्तदा

८१९१.

Here we are told that Kṛiṣṇa held in honour of the god Bilvôdakêśvara a *samāja* (feast), which is said to be "abounding in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments." *Samāja*, therefore, appears to be a public feast, where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. But this, I think, denotes only one feature of the *samāja*. Another feature of it will be clear from the following verso of the Bhattikāvya:³

¹ J. R. A. S., 1901, i. p. 486 & 577.

² Gött. Gel. Anz., 1881, p. 1:21.

³ Canto V:11. v. 39 (Nirṇayasāgar edition).

इन्द्रं चषकसंक्रान्तमुपायुक्क यथावृत्तम् ।

प्रशुभ्रानः प्रियाशचः समाजानुरतो जनः ॥

Here the word *samāja* is explained by the commentator Jayamaigala, as signifying *pāna-gôshthi*. *Samāja* thus, on the whole, seems to mean a sort of public merry-making, where meat and wine were copiously served.

When king Piyadasi says that he sees much evil in the holding of a *samāja*, he had in mind, I think, both these features of the *samāja*, viz., the slaughter of hundreds of animals, and the quaffing of copious wine. But it is the first feature of the *samāja*, that, above all, prompted the king to put a stop to this custom, since this edict is entirely concerned with the protection of animal life.

4. The word *ekachā* is formed by applying the termination *tya* to *eka*, and means 'belonging to a particular place, certain.' *Ekachā samāja* does not, therefore, mean "some kinds of festive assemblies," as Dr. Bühler supposes, but convivial gatherings belonging to a particular place, i.e., the place where Piyadasi was in the habit of holding them. Further, *sādhumatā*, I think, does not refer to his present, but to his past, opinion. What Piyadasi means is, that, although he now sees much evil in the celebration of *samājas*, there was a time when they were considered most excellent by him. The ancient kings of India appear to have been in the habit of holding *samājas*. In the Hāthigumphā inscription at Cuttack, we are told that, Khāravela, king of Kāliṅga, amused his capital-town by celebrating festivals and *samājas* (उसवसमाजकारापनाहि च कीडापयति नगरं).¹ Similarly, Nāsik cave-inscription No. 18 speaks of Gotami-putra Śātakarṣi as having caused festivals and *samājas* to be made (छययनुसवसमाजकारकस).² Quite in consonance with this practice, Piyadasi must have held several *samājas*, but the slaughter of thousands of animals on these occasions appears to have aroused his conscience and impelled him to abolish the institution, whereby so much animal life was sacrificed.

5. Piyadasi here tells us how to serve meat on the occasions of the *samājas* he formerly gave, thousands of animals were slaughtered in his kitchen, and how he has now imposed restrictions on the animals

¹ See "The Hāthigumphā and three other Inscriptions," &c., by Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 26.

² Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol., IV., p. 103, l. 8.

to be slain for his table. *Anudivasan*, no doubt, literally means 'daily,' but it seems here to denote the collective result of the daily slaughter of animals continued for a long period rather than the daily slaughter itself, for the killing of hundreds of thousands of animals every day is an impossibility. The word *sūpa* here is worthy of note. Even to the present day, where English cookery is not imitated, meat is prepared among Hindus in the form of curry.

It will be seen that, if the rendering we have proposed for ll. 4—9 is accepted, the cogent objections, raised by the learned scholar M. Senart¹ to Dr. Bühler's interpretation, are satisfactorily answered. In the first place, the sense we have given of *samāja* is, as required by him, "more precise and circumscribed" than that suggested by Dr. Bühler, and is supported by authorities. Next, if *samāja* signifies, as we have seen, a public entertainment where meat and wine were served in profuse quantities, it is clear how thereby animal life "was compromised," and how, therefore, *na cha samājo katavyo* can stand connected with *na . . . pajūhitavyam* in an edict "entirely devoted to the protection of animal life." Again, if one translates, with Dr. Bühler, *asti pichu*, &c., &c., by "there are, however, also some kinds of festive assemblies considered most excellent by king Priyadarśin," the rendering becomes liable to M. Senart's objection that, "if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samājas*,' he would have specified to what *samājas* he referred." But, as we have understood it, Piyadasi's approval pertains, not to any convivial gatherings he holds at present, but to those he formerly gave; in short, he *once* approved of certain *samājas* which he now disapproves. Thus M. Senart's objection does not apply to our interpretation. Lastly, when for *samāja* was proposed a vague sense, which did not clearly indicate how animal life was thereby "compromised," and when the words *asti pi chu*, &c., &c., were presumed to refer to certain *samājas* favourably regarded by Piyadasi at the time when the edict was promulgated, the details given of Piyadasi's kitchen, as M. Senart rightly observes, were rendered perfectly irrelevant and unmeaning. But, according to our view of the matter, these details attain full significance. For we have interpreted the words *asti pichu*, &c., &c., to allude to the *samājas*, i.e. public banquets, which Piyadasi gave long before he issued this edict; and it is but natural that Piyadasi should describe the hor-

¹ Ind. Ant. XX. 245, note 46

rible slaughter of animals that was carried on in his kitchen, to serve meat on occasions of those *samūjas*.

2.—*The Second Rock Edict.*

With regard to this edict I have only three remarks to offer. The first is with respect to Satiyaputa, mentioned by Piyadasi among the kings, ruling on the frontiers of his kingdom. The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sātputê, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sātputês had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points to it, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahārāshṭra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes.

My second remark refers to the word *sāmanā*, which occurs in connection with Antiochus and the four Greek princes. Dr. Bühler has rendered it by "vassal-kings."¹ And it is this rendering to which I take exception. *Sāmanā* is the reading of all versions except that of Girnār, which substitutes *sāmāpani* for it. This variant is of great importance, inasmuch as it indicates that *sāmanā* must be interpreted in such a way as to correspond to it. *Sāmanā* must, therefore, signify neighbouring or bordering. And, as a matter of fact, this is the sense which Childer's Pāli Dictionary gives for the word *sāmanā*. There can remain, therefore, no doubt that *sāmanā* in the edict is to be translated as 'neighbouring or bordering' and not "vassal-kings," as Dr. Bühler has done.

My third remark is concerned with the sense of the word *chikicchā*. If we carefully attend to the contents of this edict, it cannot fail to strike us that, when Piyadasi says that he has established two kinds of *chikicchā*, he makes only a general statement, of which the works of charity he mentions further on are particular instances. If so, the word *chikicchā* must be interpreted in such a way as to go naturally with planting trees, raising orchards, digging wells, and such other charitable works which Piyadasi has instituted. But if we hold with Dr. Bühler that the word means "a hospital"² or with M. Senart that it signifies "remedies,"³ then we shall have to suppose that this edict simply sets forth a congeries of facts thoroughly unconnected with one another. I, therefore, propose to take *chikicchā* in the sense of 'provision or provident arrangement.'

¹ *Ep. Ind.* II. 486.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ind. Ant.* IX. 287 ; *Ibid.* XX. 240, note 32.

If this sense is adopted, the word *chikichhā* goes with all the charitable acts specified by Piyadasi, and a connection is established between it and what follows. For Piyadasi here speaks of having made two provident arrangements, i.e., provident arrangements for two classes of creatures—men and animals. And what are these? They are obviously the planting of medicinal herbs, the growing of orchards, the sinking of wells, and so forth. By this way of interpretation alone the edict attains its full significance.

II.—THE ĀJĪVIKAS.

The epigraphic references to the Ājīvikas occur in the inscriptions of Piyadasi and his grandson Daśaratha. The earliest of these is to be found in the Barābar cave-inscription,¹ which speaks of them as the donees to whom the cave was dedicated by Piyadasi in the thirteenth year of his reign. The Ājīvikas are also mentioned in Pillar Edict VII., among those, whom, Piyadasi tells us, he has ordered his Dharma-mahāmātras to concern themselves with. They are also referred to in the Nāgārjunī cave-inscriptions, which record the grant of three caves to Ājīvikas by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods.² But the following note is chiefly concerned with the passage of Pillar Edict VII., wherein the Ājīvikas are mentioned. The passage is as follows:—

हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा हेऽन्ति ति.

Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler connect *bābhanesu* with *ājīvikesu*, and translate it thus: "likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājīvikas."³ Thus, according to these scholars, the Ājīvikas were a Brahmanical sect. The reasons for holding this view and for proposing the above interpretation have been set forth by Dr. Kern in his *Der Buddhismus*, and have been repeated by Dr. Bühler in his paper on the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions.⁴ But apart from the refutation of these arguments, it is not difficult to see that *bābhanesu* can by no means stand in apposition with *ājīvikesu*, as has been supposed by Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler. In the Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions of Daśaratha, the Ājīvikas are styled *bhādanta*. Now,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 169 and 361.

² *Ibid.*, 364-5.

³ *Ep. Ind.* II. 272; in justice to Dr. Bühler, it must be said that he admitted the possibility of translating the same passage by separating हेमेव बाभनेसु from आजीविकेसु, *Ind. Ant.* XX. 362.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 361-3.

śhadanta is a title which has never been applied to any members of a Brahmanical school. The *Ājīvikas* could not, therefore, have been a Brahmanical sect. The same conclusion is pointed to by the following stanzas from the *Suttanipāta*¹ :—

Ye kec' ime titthiyā vādasīlā
 ājīvikā vā yadi vā nigaṇṭhā
 paññāya taṃ nātitaranti sabbe
 t̥hito vajantaṃ viya sīghagāmiṃ. 6

Ye kec' ime brāhmaṇā vādasīlā
 vuddhā cāpi brāhmaṇā snti keci
 sabbe t̥yī atthabaddhā bhavanti
 ye vāpi c' aññe vādino maññamānā. 7

Translation.

“All these disputatious *Titthiyas* and *Ājīvikas* and *Nigaṇṭhas* do not any of them overcome thee in understanding as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly.”

“All these disputatious *Brāhmaṇas*, and there are even some old *Brāhmaṇas*, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants.”

It will be seen from this that here the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Ājīvikas* and *Nirgranthas* are distinguished from one another. The *Ājīvikas* cannot, therefore, be regarded as having been a Brahmanical school.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of Dr. Kern's view that the *Ājīvikas* are *Vaiṣṇavas*. This view rests on two passages from Utpala's commentary on *Varāhamihira's Brihajjātaka*. The first passage is शाजीविकमूहणं च नारायणश्रितानां, which he renders “and the use of (the term) *Ājīvika* refers to those who have taken refuge with *Nārāyaṇa*.” In support of this explanation, Utpala, according to Dr. Kern, cites a *Prākṛit* verse of *Kālakāchārya*, which the commentator renders by the Sanskrit केशवमार्गश्रितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः. This, in Dr. Kern's opinion, unmistakably shows that *Kālakāchārya* regards *Ājīvikas* as *Bhāgavatas*. Now, in the first place, the translation proposed by Dr. Kern for the first passage is not correct. That this is the case will be seen from the following extract from Utpala's commentary bearing upon this point :—

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, edited by V. Fausbøll, p. 672. ² *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. X., Pt. II., p. 63.

एकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बल्युनैर्जाता पृथग्बीर्यैः

शाक्याजीविकभिश्चवृद्धचरका निर्मथवन्त्याशनाः ।

माहेयज्ञगुन्क्षपाकरसितप्राभाकरानैः क्रमान्

तत्राशवेव चतुरादिभिरेकस्थैर्भैर्जातस्य प्रत्रज्यायोगं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेनाह ॥ एकस्थैरिति । यत्र तत्र राशौ महाश्चनुराद्यश्चत्वारः पञ्च षड् सप्त वा एकस्था यदा भवन्ति । सर्वे बलहीनास्तदा जातस्य प्रत्रज्या न भवति । तेषां चतुरादीनां एकत्र-
गानां मध्याद्यद्येकोऽपि बलवान्भवति तदैव प्रत्रज्या भवति । यदा बहवा बलिन-
स्तदा बहवः प्रत्रज्या भवन्ति । एवमेकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बल्युनैर्जाताः प्रत्रज्या-
भाजो भवन्ति । यस्मादुक्तं ॥ प्रत्रज्या बलिभिः समा ॥ ताश्च पृथग्बीर्यैः
शाक्यादयो भवन्ति । बीर्यैर्बलिभिर्भैः पृथक् समन्या भवन्ति । शाक्या-
दीनां माहेयादयो महा यथोक्तक्रमेण ॥ तद्यथा ॥ चतुरादीनामेकस्थानां मध्याद्यदा
बलवान्माहेयो भवति तदा शाक्या भवति । शाक्या नक्तपटः । अथ चतुरादीनां
मध्याद्यदा ज्यो बभौ बलवान्भवति तदा आजीविको भवति । आजीविकश्चैकदण्डी ।
एवं जीवो बलवान्यदा भवति तदा भिक्षुर्भवति । संन्यासी ज्ञेयः¹ । यदा चन्द्रो
बलवात् तदा वृद्धभावको भवति । वृत्तभंगमयात् भावकशब्दात् लप्ता द्रष्टव्यः ।
वृद्धभावकः कपालः । शुक्रं बलवति चरको भवति । चरको चक्रधराः² । सैरे
बलवति निर्मथः । निर्मथो नम्रः क्षयणकः प्रावरणादिरहितः । आदित्ये बन्धवति
वन्त्याशना भवति । वने भवं वन्यं तदभ्यातीति वन्त्याशनः । तपस्वी मूलफलाशनः ।
एवं क्रमत्प्रत्रज्यायोगः । एते च कालकामनाद्व्याख्याताः । तथा च कालकाचा-
र्यः ॥ तावतिओ दिणणाहे चंदे कावालिअं तहा भणिअं । रत्तवडा भूमिसुवे सोमसुवे
एअदण्डी अ ॥ देवगुरुकुकोणाकवेण जई चरअखवणाई ॥ अस्याथः । तावसिओ
तापसिकः । दिणणाहे दिननाथं । चंदे चन्द्रे । कावालिअं कापालिकः । तहा
भाणिअं तथा भणितः । रत्तवडा रक्तपटः । भूमिसुवे भूमिसुते । सोमसुवे सोमसुते ।
एअदण्डी अ एकदण्डी च । देवगुरुर्बृहस्पतिः । शुक्रः शुक्रः । कोणः दानिः । कवेण
क्रमेण । जई यतिः । चरअ चरकः । खवणाई क्षयणकः । अत्र वृद्धभावकमहणं
महेश्व श्रितानां प्रत्रज्यातापुपलक्षणं । आजीविकमहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां । तथा
च कालकालहितायां पश्यते । जलण-हर-सुगभ-केसव-सुइ-बम्ह णग्गमग्गेसु
दिक्काणं । णाअवा सुराइ-गहा कमेण नाहगउं ॥ अस्यार्थः जलण ज्वलनः ।
सामिक इत्यर्थः । हर ईश्वरभक्तः । भटारकः । सुगभ सुगत । जंखु इत्यर्थः ।
केसव केतवभक्तः । भागवत इत्यर्थः । सुइ श्रुतिमार्गगतः । मीमांसकः । बम्ह
ब्रह्मभक्तः । वानप्रस्थः । नग्ग नम्रः । क्षयणकः । मग्गसु मार्गेषु । दिक्काणं
दीक्षानां । णाअवा ज्ञातव्याः । सुराइगहा सूर्यादिमहाः । कमेण क्रमेण । नाह
गउं नाथ गतः ।

Now, with regard to the first passage आजीविकमहणं च नारायणा-
श्रितानां, it is plain that the word च indicates that it is connected
with the preceding passage, and that consequently the words प्रत्रज्या-

¹ Another reading: भिक्षुसिद्धिदण्डी यतिः

² Another reading: चक्रकरः

नामुपलक्षणम् from the latter, require to be understood after नारायणाभितानां in the former, passage. Dr. Kern, however, not perceiving the force of च takes आजीविकमहणं च नारायणाभितानां as a distinct sentence in itself. Evidently, therefore, he cannot be right in translating it by "and the use of (the term) *Ājīvika* refers to those who have taken refuge with *Nārāyaṇa*." The true rendering of the passage is as follows: "and (the term) *Ājīvika* is used as a mark to denote the monastic orders dependent upon *Nārāyaṇa*." Here the most important word is *upalakṣhaṇa*, which Dr. Kern has entirely lost sight of. *Upalakṣhaṇa* means a mark indicative of something that the word itself does not actually express. Utpala has already, in explaining the original of *Varāhamihira* by comparing it with a *śloka* of *Kālakāchārya*, said that *ājīvika* signifies *ekadaṇḍī*. And now he adds that the term *ājīvika* is to be taken as a mark to denote the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. It is a mark only and not a word expressive of them. Sanskrit commentators often employ the word *upalakṣhaṇa*, when they want a certain word or expression in the original to denote things, not, truly speaking, expressed by that word or expression. And precisely the same practice is followed here by Utpala. The list of ascetic denominations given by *Varāhamihira* is by no means exhaustive, for, among others, it fails to take cognizance of the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. Hence the necessity to understand the latter by means of an *upalakṣhaṇa*. From this it follows that the passage आजीविकमहणं च नारायणाभितानां, far from supporting Dr. Kern's view that the *Ājīvikas* are *Vaiṣṇavas*, runs counter to it.

The next passage from Utpala's commentary cited by Dr. Kern in favour of his thesis, is, as stated above, *केशवमार्गशीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत इत्यर्थः*. This passage also has been misconstrued, but the misconception in this case is dependent upon the misinterpretation of the former passage. For Utpala certainly quotes this from *Kālakāchārya*, as believed by Dr. Kern, in support of the assertion आजीविकमहणं च नारायणाभितानां. But, as we have just seen, what Utpala wants thereby to convey is, that the term *ājīvika* not means, as supposed by Dr. Kern, but denotes by *upalakṣhaṇa*, the recluse-devotees of *Nārāyaṇa*. It may, however, be asked—what authority justifies this *upalakṣhaṇa*? It is the authority of *Kālakāchārya*, and Utpala quotes a verse from *Kālakāsamhitā* in support of his position. According to this verse, a man becomes *केशवमार्गशीक्षितः*, if, when born, the planet mercury is predominant. But under the same astrological

condition at the time of his birth, a man becomes, according to another verse of Kālakāchārya cited before, an *ekudaṇḍī*, which has been identified by Utpala with the *Ājīvika* of Varāhamihira. So that the *keśava-mārga-dīkshitas* of the new verse remain to be accounted for. This justifies Utpala in making *Ājīvika* stand as a mark for *keśava-mārga-dīkshitas*, i.e. Bhāgavatas. This is how, in my opinion, the second passage, on which Dr. Kern relies for his theory, requires to be understood. It points to the justification of the *upalakṣhaṇa*, according to which *Ājīvika* denotes the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa, and not of the assertion that the Vaishṇavas are to be understood by *Ājīvika* in its natural sense. The view propounded by Dr. Kern and countenanced by Dr. Bühler that the *Ājīvikas* are Vaishṇavas, has, therefore, little ground to stand upon.

It will not be out of place, I think, if a short account of these *Ājīvikas* is given with a view to point out who they were. My work here will be principally that of bringing some of the scattered rays to a focus. The founders of this monastic order were Nanda-Vachchha, Kisa-Samkichehha, and Makkhali Gosāla, of whom the last is by far the most famous, as he is one of the six well-known Teachers mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. There is a Sanskrit word *maskarin*, which ordinarily signifies an ascetic. But this word, I think, is formed from the name Makkhali, and originally denoted an *Ājīvika* monk. But, after the disappearance of the *Ājīvikas*, the origin and the signification of the word were forgotten, and it came to be used in the ordinary sense of an 'ascetic.' Buddhaghōsha tells us that an *Ājīvika* is *nagga-pabbajito*.¹ *Ājīvikas* are also described as *achela*,² i.e., unclothed. And in confirmation of this, there are at least two stories from the Vinaya-piṭaka. According to the first,³ which is in the Mahāvagga, while the Buddha and the Bhikshus were once staying in the Anāthapiṇḍikāśrama in Jetavana at Sāvastī, it began to rain over the whole world. The Buddha informed the Bhikshus that that was the last mighty storm of rain over the whole world, and consequently asked them to let themselves be rained down upon. The Bhikshus accordingly divested themselves of their robes and exposed their bodies to rain. On that very day, Visākhā, mother of Migāra, was engaged in preparations for a feast to the Buddha and his Bhikshus. When the preparations were over, she sent her maid-

¹ J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 197.

² Jāt. I. 390.

³ VIII. 15, 2—6.

servant to the Buddha to intimate that dinner was ready. When the maid servant approached the Anāthapiṇḍikāśrama, she saw the naked Bhikshus, but concluded from their being naked that they were Ājīvikas. The other story, which is from the Nissaggiya,¹ is, that, while a few Bhikshus left Sāketa for Srāvastī, they were waylaid by certain robbers, who deprived them of their robes. Being forbidden by the Buddha to ask for another garment, they went naked to Srāvastī to meet the Bhikshus there. But the latter, instead of recognising them as mendicants of their order, mistook them for Ājīvikas as they were unclothed.

The Ājīvikas covered their bodies with dust, and their food consisted of fish and cow-dung.² They were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. Some of the austerities they practised are mentioned in one Jātaka to have been "painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with five fires."³ Again, as first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball.⁴ Their doctrine has been admirably summed up by the Buddha in the words *n'atthi kammaṃ n'atthi kīriyaṃ n'atthi viriyaṃ i*. They were thus complete fatalists.⁵

The Ājīvikas appear to have been intimately connected with the Nirgranthas, i.e., Jainas. They are often associated together in the Buddhist literature (see e.g. the stanza quoted above from the Sutta Nipāra). The Jaina work Bhagavatī tells us that Gosāla Mankhaliputta was for some time a pupil of Mahāvīra.⁶ Again, in the Divyāvadāna, the Nirgranthas have actually been once called Ājīvikas.⁷ Further, the imposition of a tax on Ājīvakas is mentioned in some of the South-Indian Inscriptions⁸ edited by Dr. Hultzsch, who considers them to be Jainas.

¹ VI. 2.

² Jāt. I. 390.

³ *Ibid.* I. 493; other austerities to which they resorted have been set forth in the Majjhima-Nikāya, p. 238. For the translation of this passage, see Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 227 ff.

⁴ Jāt. III. 541.

⁵ See also Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, pp. 71 ff., and Hoernle's Uvāsagadaśāo, Appendix II.

⁶ 'The Life of the Buddha' translated by W. W. Rockhill, pp. 249 ff. Uvāsagadaśāo by Hoernle, Appendix I.

⁷ Divyāvadāna, edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 427.

⁸ Vol. I., pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108.

In the Brahmanical works, the earliest reference to the Ājīvikas that has been traced, is in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*, as we have seen above. Then in the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa (A. D. 725), Rāvaṇa is mentioned to have approached Sītā in the garb of an Ājīvika monk.¹ No other reference to the Ājīvikas has been found in Brahmanical literature, so far as my knowledge goes.

III.—DIGHWÂ-DUBAULÎ PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLA and

BENGAL AS. SOC.'S PLATE OF VINĀYAKAPĀLA.

These copper-plate charters have been edited by various scholars from time to time, but the scholar who edited them last is Dr. Fleet, who has laid students of ancient Indian history under deep obligations, by giving them an excellent summary of the different theories held regarding the royal grantors of these charters and then setting forth his own view of the matter. His view, considered in the light of the researches then made, was, indeed, incontrovertible; but the publication of the Daulatpurâ grant of Bhôjadêva, and of the well-known Siyaḍōṇi inscription, the contents of which were but imperfectly known when Dr. Fleet wrote upon the subject, has thrown such a flood of light upon the whole question that, in my humble opinion, a new theory requires to be framed. To this task I set myself in this paper, but this object can be best attained by giving, in short, the chief arguments on which Dr. Fleet's theory is based, and then my own reasons for dissenting from his view.

Dr. Fleet's arguments² may be briefly stated, as follow :—

1. The kings mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be identical with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyaḍōṇi stone-inscriptions, inasmuch as the former bear the subordinate title *mahārāja*, and the latter, the paramount titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramêśvara*.

2. The locality Mahôdaya, whence the charters were issued, cannot be identified with Kanauj, as it is spoken of therein as a *skandhāvâra*; and it is most unlikely that such a famous capital town as Kanauj should be selected for a camp. Their capital was either Śrāvastî or Vârānastî; and Mahôdaya, where their camp was established, must be located near the Ganges or its tributaries, since

¹ Cap. X. v. 76.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, pp. 110-1.

Vinâyakapâla, who issued the second charter, is mentioned therein to have bathed in the Ganges before making the grant.

3. The dates of the plates are 155 and 188 respectively, and are to be referred to the Harsha era. Their English equivalents are, therefore, A.D. 761-62, and A.D. 794-95, respectively. They, therefore, flourished in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and cannot be the same as their namesakes, who were posterior by full one century.

Before we proceed to deal with these arguments one by one, the first question that we shall decide is: are these princes identical with the homonymous kings mentioned in the stone-inscriptions? The last four generations of princes in the second copper-plate charter are:—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Vinâyakapâla.¹

The succession of the princes of Kanauj as determined from the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyadônî inscriptions is as follows:—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Mahîpâla or Kshitipâla.

It will be seen at a glance that there is a perfect agreement of names, so far as the first three princes are concerned. But there appears to be some difference with regard to the name of the fourth prince. This difference, however, is only apparent. Dr. Kielhorn has shown, on the evidence of a Khajurâho inscription,² that Mahîpâla also bore the name Hêrambapâla. Thus the difference of name with regard to the fourth prince in the two lists ceases to exist, when it is remembered that Mahîpâla of the second list was

¹ The copper-plate grant of Vinâyakapâla places his half-brother Bhôja II, between him and their father Mahêndrapâla, but I have omitted his name as we are concerned, not with succession, but with generations.

² Ep. Ind. I. 124 and 171.

also called Hêrambapâla, which is synonymous with Vinâyakapâla, both being names of Gaṇapati. We thus see that the names of the last four princes mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions agree with those of the princes referred to in the stone-inscriptions. The agreement of names in the case of one or two princes can be explained away as a mere coincidence. But when the agreement extends to the names of no less than four princes, only one conclusion is possible, *viz.* that they are identical, unless cogent reasons can be adduced to the contrary. The only conceivable objection to this view is that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions are called simply *mahârâjas*, whereas those of the stone-inscriptions are styled, *paramahattâraraka mahârâjâdhirâja Paramêśvara*. This point I shall shortly consider.

We shall now turn to the second of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He says that Mahôdaya, whence the copper-plate grants were issued, cannot be Kanauj, because Mahôdaya is therein called a *skandhâvâra*, and such a great city as Kanauj could not have been used as a site for a camp. Dr. Fleet would, indeed, have been correct in saying that such a renowned city as Kanauj could not have been selected for a camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* had meant a camp only. But, as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn, the word *skandhâvâra* is given by lexicographers as another word for *râjadhâni* also,¹ and the reason of it is evident. The place of the king's residence, be it temporary or permanent, cannot be without horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, and other implements of war—exactly the things met with in camps. Precisely for the same reason, Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, is known by the name of *lashkar*, *i.e.* a camp. And, that *skandhâvâra*, as used in our copper-plate charters, signifies a capital, may be easily seen. Since Dr. Fleet wrote his paper on these charters, a copper-plate grant of Bhôjadôva of the same dynasty has been found, which also was issued from the Mahôdaya *skandhâvâra*.² We thus have three copper-plate charters of this dynasty, all issued from Mahôdaya. Now, it is highly improbable that three distinct princes at three different times chose one and the same place called Mahôdaya, for their camp, if the word *skandhâvâra* is here to be understood in this

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209; see also Hêmachandra's *Abhidhânachintâmani* by Boehtlingk and Rieu, p. 181, v. 973.

² Ep. Ind. V. 211.

sense. Obviously, therefore, the word *skandhāvāra* must be taken to denote *rājadhānī*, i.e. the place of royal residence. This is not the first instance of the word being used in this sense. Other epigraphic instances can be adduced. Thus the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapālādēva, of the Pāla dynasty, was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra*, fixed at Pāṭalīputra.¹ The Mungir grant of Dēvapāla and the Bhāgalpur charter of Nārāyaṇapāla, of the same dynasty, were made from the *jayaskandhāvāra*, established at Mudgiri.² As Pāṭalīputra (Paṭṇā) and Mudgiri (Mungir) were names of renowned cities, they could not possibly have been used as *skandhāvāras* in the sense of camps. The word *skandhāvāra*, therefore, even in these copper-plate charters of the Pāla kings, must be understood in the sense of *rājadhānī*, and Pāṭalīputra and Mudgiri, supposed to have been the seats of the Pāla Government in the time of Dharmapāla, and of Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, respectively. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding that, the word *skandhāvāra* occurring in our copper-plate inscriptions, must be taken to signify *rājadhānī*, and that Mahōdaya, which is therein spoken of as a *skandhāvāra*, must accordingly denote a great city, worthy of royal residence. Now, according to lexicographers, Mahōdaya is another name for Kānyakubja, i.e. Kanauj. This fits here excellently, for, as we have just seen, Mahōdaya of our plates was a large city, worthy of royal residence, and Kanauj was for long known as the capital of North India. Again, as noticed by Dr. Fleet himself, the second of the two grants was issued by Vināyaka-pāla from Mahōdaya after bathing in the Ganges. Mahōdaya was thus on the banks of the Ganges. And Kanauj, with which we have identified the Mahōdaya of our plates, is on the Ganges. No doubt, therefore, can remain as to the Mahōdaya in question being the same as Kanauj. There was doubtless some plausibility in Dr. Fleet's objection to this identification, when only these two copper-plate charters were known, mentioning places about 250 and 150 miles east of Kanauj. But now in addition to these charters, a new grant of Bhōjadēva, mentioned above, has come to light, and it speaks of a locality called Sivā, which is unquestionably the same as Sēwā, in the Jōdhpur State, where it was found, which is no less than 800 miles west of Kanauj. If this is so, it is difficult to

¹ Ep. Ind. IV. 249.

² Ind. Ant. XV. 306; XXI. 256.

conceive, as first pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn,¹ a capital town other than Kanauj most favourably situated as the place from which the three charters could be issued.²

We shall now turn to the first of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He alleges that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be the same as their namesakes, referred to in the stone-inscriptions, as the former are called simply *Mahārājas*, and the latter, *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaras*. Now, I think, it is wrong to suppose that *mahārāja* necessarily denotes a subordinate feudatory rank. The word literally means 'the great king,' and can appropriately be applied to even an independent ruler. And, that, as a matter of fact, this is actually the case with regard to the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions is clearly attested by the vast extent of territory over which they ruled. It has been just shown that Mahōdaya or Kanauj was their capital, that two of their copper-plate grants refer to localities about 250 and 150 miles to the east of Kanauj, and that the third, i.e. the newly-found grant of Bhōjadēva names a certain place, which is 300 miles to the west of Kanauj. Thus the dominions of these kings extended at least as far as 250 to the east, and 300 miles to the west of Kanauj, their capital. This was undoubtedly a vast range of territory, and was certainly of no less extent than that held by the Chēdi, Chandēlla and Paramāra rulers. Now, if the latter are regarded as independent sovereigns, there is no reason why the former should not be regarded as equally independent, although they do not assume high-sounding titles. Nay, about this period the high-sounding titles borne by kings are often found empty. We have the well-known instance of Vaidyadēva, who was first a minister of Kumārapāla, of the Pāla dynasty, but was afterwards made by him king of Kāmarūpa. Although Vaidyadēva was thus subordinate to Kumārapāla, he styles himself *mahārājādhirāja paramabhaṭṭāraka paramēśvara*.³ Another instance is furnished by the Rājōr stone-inscription of Mathanadēva, who, although himself a feudatory of Vijayapāla, king of Kanauj, assumes

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209.

² In justice to Dr. Fleet it requires to be mentioned that he does admit at Ep. Ind. VI. 198, that the Mahōdaya of these copper-plate inscriptions refers to Kanauj. But, as the objections urged by him against the identification of the Mahōdaya of these plates with Kanauj were in themselves weighty, I thought it necessary to consider them.

³ Ep. Ind. II. 353.

the titles *mahārājādhirāja paramésvara*.¹ Further may be cited an instance of the contrary kind, an instance of a prince, who, although an independent ruler, bears the simple title *paramésvara* like that of *mahārāja*. Bhôjadêva of the Sîyađñi stone-inscription has been commonly supposed to be the same as the Bhôjadêva of the Gwalior stone-inscription No. 2. But, while in the first inscription, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramésvara*, he is styled, in the second, simply *svāmī paramésvara*.² In short, the assumption of the simple or high-sounding titles is not a sure index of the true rank, especially about this period. And we have seen that, the territory, over which the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions ruled, was as vast as, if perhaps not vaster than, that owned by the Chêdi, Chandêlla or Paramâra kings. It is, therefore, incontrovertible that the former were independent rulers; and thus the objection to their identity with the homonymous kings of the stone-inscriptions has little weight.

We now come to the last point, *viz.* the dates of the plates. According to Dr. Fleet, the dates are 155 and 188, and are years of the Harsha era. In editing the newly-found grant of Bhôjadêva, Dr. Kielhorn too following Dr. Fleet interprets the symbol 3 as equivalent to 100, and refers it to the Harsha era. Conceding for the moment that these dates have been correctly read, let us see whether they can be said to belong to the Harsha era. The dates 100 and 155 of Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions, as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, if referred to the Harsha era, as held by them, are equivalent to A.D. 706 and 761. So that from A.D. 706 to 761 we have both Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla, reigning consecutively at Mahôdaya or Kanauj. Now, the Râjatarangiṇi tells us that Lalitâditya of Kâshmir defeated Yaśôvarman, who reigned at Kanauj, and was the patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati. The Kâshmir chronicle assigns Lalitâditya to the period 726—760 A.D.³ It is, therefore, plain that Yaśôvarman whom he defeated must have been reigning between A.D. 726—760, *i.e.* about that period when, and at that very Mahôdaya or Kanauj where, Bhôjadêva and Mahêndrapâla were reigning, as will be seen from the above. Evidently, therefore, the theory that the dates of these princes are years of the Harsha era must be given up. Nor can we

¹ *Ibid.* III, 266.

² *Ibid.* I., 159.

³ Kalhana's Râjatarangiṇi translated by M. A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 132.

accept the reading of these dates, as proposed by the same scholars. Dr. Fleet, indeed, says "that the dates of these two inscriptions are perfectly certain."¹ But I am sorry that I have not been able to trace the grounds, on which this certainty is based. Beyond telling us in a footnote that "the remaining symbols for 5, 10 and 100 in their present forms are still to be entered there"² (i.e. in Bhagwanlal Indraji's table), he does not attempt to adduce any authority in support of his reading. This being the case, one is perfectly justified in regarding the readings as not certain, but only tentative. And, if I may be allowed to put forth a conjecture, I propose that the symbol 3 or ३ which, according to Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, is equivalent to 100, should be understood to stand for 900 especially as it closely resembles 9 the sign for 9 occurring in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of Vinâyakapâla, and that the dates so read should be referred to the Vikrama era, like those of the Gwalior, Asni, Dêôgadh and Siyadônî inscriptions. If this conjecture is followed, the dates of the three copper-plate inscriptions are to be read 900, 955 and 988 V.E., which correspond to A. D. 844, 899 and 932 respectively. For the sake of clearness, we shall place the dates of both the copper-plate and the stone inscriptions side by side, thus:—

Copper-plate inscriptions. Stone-inscriptions.

Bhôjadêva	...	...	844 A. D.	862, 876 and 882 A. D
Mahêndrapâla	...	...	899 A. D.	903 and 907 A.D.
Mahîpâla	...	...	932 A. D.	917 A. D.
or				
Vinâyakapâla	...	...

There is no disagreement whatever, so far as the dates of Mahêndrapâla are concerned. With regard to Bhôjadêva, if we accept the date of the copper-plate inscription, as we have conjectured it, we shall have to suppose that he reigned for at least 38 years; and, I think, there is nothing impossible in this supposition. With respect to Mahîpâla or Vinâyakapâla, the date which his grant gives him, is, indeed, posterior to that furnished by the stone-inscription,

¹ Ind. Ant. XV, 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106, footnote 3.

by at least fifteen years. But this need not trouble us, as it is in no way inconsistent with the earliest date 948 A. D., we have for his successor Dêvapâla. On the whole, I think, the conjecture may be provisionally accepted, until further researches throw light on this point and settle it finally.

ART. XIII.—*Gūjaras*.* By DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA

BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Read 13th November 1902.]

Gujarāt, the well-known portion of the Bombay Presidency, has been commonly held to be Gūjararāshṭra or the country of the Gūjaras. But, howsoever the word may be explained, it remains incontrovertible that the country received its name from the Gūjaras, who settled in, and wielded sway over, that province. In ancient days, however, Gujarāt was not known by this name, but was called Lāṭa. Many antiquarians have indeed expressed the view that this Lāṭa corresponded to South Gujarāt from the Mahî to the Tâpî, but that it did not comprehend North Gujarāt.¹ There can, however, be little doubt that Lāṭa included North Gujarāt also. The Cambay copper-plate charter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince, Gôvinda IV., speaks of Khêṭaka maṇḍala as forming a part of Lāṭa dēśa². As Khêṭaka is undoubtedly identical with the modern Kaira, the boundaries of Lāṭa may be supposed to be stretching as far as a little to the north of Kaira. One of the Gwalior inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch mentions Alla, keeper of the marches in the service of Rāmadêva, king of Kanauj (C. 835 A. D.) as having emigrated from Ânandapura in Lāṭa maṇḍala³. Ânandapura is doubtless the modern Vaḍnagar and we may consequently suppose that a portion of territory as far

* Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has written a very able and valuable paper on the Gūjaras, which forms the history portion of "Bhinmal" in Appendix III. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I. It was the perusal of this interesting paper that first set my thoughts going, and what I have said here is a sort of supplement to what he has already done.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 145; *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 7.; *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. II., pp. 309-10.

² *Ep. Ind.* VII. 40.

³ *Ibid.* I. 156; Ânandapura is mentioned in the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII., which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with Ânand, the chief town of the Ânand tāluks, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 173). The name also occurs in the Sarsavā plates of the Kapaohohuri prince, Buddharāja, in his paper on which Dr. Kielhorn inclines to Dr. Fleet's view with regard to this identification (*Ep. Ind.* VI. 279). But, in my humble opinion, this identification is far from satisfactory.

north to the Mahī as Vāḍnagar was comprised in the country of Lāṭa. The question that now arises is: where then was the kingdom of the Gūrjaras, so often alluded to in inscriptions, before the middle of the tenth century, as, till that time, Gujarāt was known as Lāṭa, and hence was not ruled over by Gūrjara princes?

In no less than three inscriptions Gurjaratrā is mentioned as the name of a province. The Ghaṭayāl inscription of a Pratihāra prince, named Kakkuka, speaks of Marumāḍa (Mārwar), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇi), Pariaṇikā-ajja and Gujjaratī (Gurjaratrā), as the provinces held by that prince.¹ The Daulatpurā plate of Bhōjadēva mentions Gurjaratrā *bhūmi* as comprising Ḍeṇḍvānaka *riṣhaya*, a village of which called Sivāgrāma was granted by that king². Sivāgrāma is identical with the village Siwā, where the plate was originally found, and Ḍeṇḍvānaka still survives in the name of the city of Didwān, in the north-easternmost part of the Jōdhapur State. Dr. Kielhorn, who edited this grant, has given, in a footnote of his paper thereon, the full text of an inscription found at Kālānjara, wherein also Gurjaratrā *maṇḍala* is mentioned together with the town of Maṅgalānaka falling within it.³ Maṅgalānaka the learned doctor has identified with Maglonā, 28 miles N. N. E. of Didwān. Gurjaratrā was thus a province (*maṇḍala*) in Rājputānā not unlike Marumāḍa, Stravaṇi

It is not established by means of the identification of any surrounding villages; nor by the mention of this name in any one of the inscriptions in or about Ānand. It is only the correspondence of sound that is in favour of this view. On the other hand, the identification of Ānandapura with Vāḍnagar is based, in my humble opinion, on irrefragable evidence. The Vāḍnagar *prasasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla distinctly makes mention of the town by the name of Ānandapura and speaks of it as containing a settlement of Brāhmaṇas called Nāgara (*Ep. Ind.* I. pp. 295, 299 and 303). This is quite in keeping with the tradition current among Nāgar Brāhmaṇas that their original seat was Vāḍnagar (*Gujarāt Population in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 13). Again, the Alinā charters of A. D. 649 and 656 were issued to the same grantees who is described in the first as originally of Ānarttapura and in the second as originally of Ānandapura (*Ind. Ant.* VII. 75 and 79). This means that Ānandapura was also known by the name of Ānarttapura. And, as a matter of fact, according to popular stories, Vāḍnagar was called Ānarttapura in the Trētā-yuga (*History of Gujarāt, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 6).

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 517. ² *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

³ *Loc. Cit.* 210, and footnote 3.

and so forth, and further, as the Daulatpurâ plate and the Kâlanjara inscription inform us, this province of Gurjaratrâ extended round about Didwân, Siwâ and Maglonâ. The name Gurjaratrâ is highly significant. It indicates that it was in this province that the Gûrjaras gained a firm footing and established themselves, and that consequently it came to be called after them just as Śakasthâna, Ahirwâr and so forth were called after Śakas and Abhîras. Thus we see that, before the middle of the tenth century, the Gûrjaras were settled in a part of Râjputânâ called Gurjaratrâ after them. It must not, however, be supposed that the Gûrjara power was confined to this province only. The Chinese pilgrim Yüan-Chuang (Hiouen-Tsang) (C. 640 A. D.) places the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. The proper representative of Kiu-che-lo has been accepted to be Gûrjara, and, as Yuan-Chuang mentions the countries of Surâshtra, Ânandapura, Ujjayani, Sindhu and Mûlasthanapura surrounding Kiu-che-lo, Kiu-che-lo must be regarded as corresponding to Central and Northern Râjputânâ. Besides, as according to the Chinese traveller, the country of Kiu-che-lo was 5,000 li or 834 miles in circuit, it could not have been merely the small province of Gurjaratrâ. The same conclusion is pointed to by the mention, in the Harshacharita, of the conquests of Prabhâkaravardhana. The king is therein described as "a lion to the deer which were the Hûnas, mental affliction to the king of Sindhu, (the cause) of sleeplessness to the Gûrjara prince, the *pâkula* fever to the scent elephants of the ruler of Gaudhâra, the pilferer of the wits of the Lâṭa king and an axe to the creeper, *viz.* the goddess of wealth of the Mâlava prince."² Now, the Hûnas were settled in the Himâlayas to the north of Prabhâkaravardhana's kingdom of Śrikanṭha. The countries of Mâlava, Sindhu and Lâṭa correspond respectively to the present Mâlwa, Sindh and Gujarât. The only territory which remains surrounded by Śrikanṭha, Gandhâra, Sindhu, Lâṭa and Mâlava is Râjputânâ, which must, therefore, be supposed to answer to the country of the Gûrjaras. The larger portion of Râjputânâ thus appears to have been under the Gûrjara sway. Next, the Pâñchatantra, in its fourth *tantra* contains the story of a *rathakâra*, who is mentioned as having gone to a Gûrjara village in the Gûrjara

¹ Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 269-70.

² Gaũḍavaho by S. P. Pandit, Introduction, p. cxxvii, footnote*; Kâdambarî, by Peterson, 1883, Introduction, p. 56.

country in search for camels.¹ As Rājputānā is still known to be the habitat of camels, our conclusion that the Gūjaradēśa coincides in the main with Rājputānā is thus supported by the Pañchatantra. Again, a stone-inscription has been published by Dr. Kielhorn of a king named Mathanadēva (A. D. 960), who is described as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty.² His capital was Rājyapura, the modern Rājōr in the Alwār State, where the stone-inscription was found. Mathanadēva is therein represented to have granted on the occasion of the installation of the god Lachchhukēśvara the village of Vyāghrapāṭaka, together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated, we are distinctly told, by the Gūjaras. It is thus plain that Mathanadēva, himself a Gūjara and belonging to the Pratīhāra family, held sway over a territory corresponding to the present Alwār State and that this territory was occupied by Gūjaras, as they appear to have been the agricultural class there. Further, it has been mentioned above that the Ghaṭayāl inscription of the Pratīhāra prince Kakkuka speaks of Marumāḍa (Mārwar), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravaṇi), Pariaṅkā-ajja and Gujjaratā (Gurjaratrā) as held by that prince. As these Pratīhāra princes were Gūjaras,³ we find that, a large portion of Rājputānā, and not the small province of Gurjaratrā only, owned the Gūjara sway. Nay, we have also evidence, as will be shown further on, that the Gūjara supremacy at one period was not restricted to Rājputānā only, but had spread far beyond its limits. But this much is certain that Rājputānā was essentially the country of the Gūjaras.

The Rāshtrakūṭas are represented in their records as constantly fighting with the Gūjaras. Thus the Rādhanpur grant states that the Gūjara, fearing Gōvinda III., fled, nobody knew whither, so that he might not witness a battle even in a dream.⁴ An unpublished copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.⁵ speaks of this Rāshtrakūṭa prince as having defeated the roaring Gūjara king. The Nausāri grant of Indra III. compares Kṛishṇa II.'s battles with the Gūjara ruler to a storm of the rainy season.⁶ The Dēōli and Karhād grants

¹ Pañchatantra by Kosegarten, p. 229; *Ibid.* (Bo. Sk. Series) IV. and V. p. 33. In the latter, however, only Gurjara-grāma is mentioned.

² *Ep. Ind.* III. 263.

³ See further in the sequel.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* VI. 244.

⁵ This copper-plate grant is in the possession of my brother, Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who is soon going to edit it.

⁶ Above Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

of Kṛishṇa III. assert that, on hearing of the conquests of this Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign, the hope of conquering Kālañjara and Ohitṛakūṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjara prince.¹ To whom then do these Rāshṭrakūṭa references to the Gūrjara princes before the middle of the tenth century apply? It is supposed by some antiquarians that they apply to the Chāvaḍā kings of Anahilavāḍa.² But the grant of the Chālukya prince Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated 738-9 A.D., mentions Chāvōṭakas and Gūrjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tājika army.³ The kingdoms of the Chāvōṭakas or Chāvaḍās and the Gūrjaras are thus distinguished from one another. Secondly, the Rāshṭrakūṭa grants describe the battles between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gūrjaras in such a way as to show that they both were well-matched foes. The Gūrjaras, who could in this manner measure their strength against the Rāshṭrakūṭas must be supposed to have been a powerful dynasty holding sway over a vast range of territory. But the Chāvaḍās of Anahilavāḍa do not appear to have been of great importance. No inscriptions of that dynasty have yet come to light, and the kingdom which they held was not extensive. We have seen above that, in the times of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the boundaries of Lāṭa had stretched as far north as Vaḍnagar, which is directly east of Anahilavāḍa, the capital of the Chāvaḍās. The territory ruled over by the Chāvaḍās could not, therefore, have been extensive, and consequently they must have occupied quite a subordinate position. For these reasons Chāvaḍās cannot be considered to be the Gūrjaras, who so braved the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

A theory has been put forth that the Rāshṭrakūṭa references to Gūrjaras apply to the dynasty reigning at Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl.⁴ This view rests on the ground that Yuan-Chuang speaks of the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gūrjaras as having for its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo, which, it is contended, is identical with Bhillamāla. Pi-lo-mo-lo was for long identified with Bālmēr in the Jēsalmēr State by the French scholars, followed by Mr. Beal. Colonel Watson was the first to identify it with Bhillamāl, and Dr. Bühler was the first to lend

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 194 and IV. 284.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 181.

³ *Trans. Inter. Ori. Cong.* 1886, p. 231.

⁴ *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt I, p. 466 ff.

countenance to this identification.¹ But the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamāla is far from satisfactory. For Yuan-Chuang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjara lay 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. This means that the kingdoms themselves, and not their capitals, were separated by this distance, and that consequently the distance between their capitals was much more than 300 miles. But, as a matter of fact, the distance even between their capitals, i.e. between Valabhi and Bhillamāl (supposing Bhillamāl to be identical with Pi-lo-mo-lo) scarcely comes to 215 miles, which is much less than even the distance of 300 miles which separates the two kingdoms. Secondly, it is highly doubtful whether the city of Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl was actually known by this name in Yuan-Chuang's time. For, in all the inscriptions that have come to light in and near the town, it is called Śrīmāla, and not Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl.² Again, the Jainas have preserved traditions which show that Śrīmāla was the earlier, and Bhillamāla the later, name of the town. Mērutuṅga e.g. tells us that Śrīmāla was first called Bhillamāla by Bhōja of Dhārā, because the people of that town allowed the poet Māgha to die of starvation.³ Dr. Bühler says that the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in A. D. 628, "calls himself Bhillamālakakāchārya."⁴ If Dr. Bühler's statement is true, then it indeed follows that the name Bhillamālaka was known as early as Yuan-Chuang's time. But on examining the authorities which he has adduced in support of his statement, one finds that Brahmagupta does not call himself Bhillamālakakāchārya, but is so called by others.⁵ Next, it is by no means certain that Bhillamāl was the native place of Brahmagupta. For, although there are traditions which make Brahmagupta a

¹ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63 and XVII. 192.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 472 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 63, footnote || ; XVII. 192, footnote 31.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192.

⁵ Thus e.g., on p. 297 of *Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, Vol. II., by Weber, the ending portion *iti śrī Bhīlamāchārya Bhaṭṭa Jishṇusuta Brahmagupta virachite*, " &c., is immediately preceded by " *namastasmai Śrī Brahmaguptāya*." This obeisance must be supposed to be offered to Brahmagupta, not by himself, but by somebody else, who must consequently be presumed to be speaking of the former as Bhīlamālakāchārya.

native of Bhīllamāl, there are other traditions, according to which Rīvānagara was his native place.¹

To whom then, let us ask again, do the references to Gūrjara princes in the Rāshtrakūṭa records apply? There is every probability, nay, in my humble opinion, certainty that they apply to the dynasty of Mahōdaya, to which Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla belonged. A copper-plate charter found at Haḍḍālā speaks of the Chāpa prince Dharaṇivarāha who issued the grant as "ruling by the grace of the feet of *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Mahipāladēva*."² The inscription is dated 914 A. D. Dr. Bühler, who edited the grant, held that this paramount sovereign Mahipāla was a Chūḍāsamā prince,³ and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji endorsed this view.⁴ But Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was the first to see that this Mahipāla was identical with the Gūrjara king Mahipāla mentioned by the Kanarese poet Pampa as being vanquished by the Chālukya ruler Narasiṃha, father of his patron Arikēśarin II.⁵ In the first place, there is here an agreement of names (*viz.* that of Mahipāla) in the case of the supreme ruler mentioned in the Haḍḍālā grant and of the Gūrjara prince said by Pampa to have been defeated by Narasiṃha. Secondly, the dates of Narasiṃha and Mahipāla of the aforesaid grant agree. For, as Arikēśarin II. was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, Gōvinda IV,⁶ Narasiṃha, father of Arikēśarin II. may easily be supposed to be a contemporary of Indra III., father of this Gōvinda IV. For Indra III. we have the dates 916, 916-17 A. D. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that Narasiṃha lived about 915 A. D., and the date of the Haḍḍālā grant, in which Mahipāla is mentioned, is 914 A. D. There is thus an agreement not only with regard to names, as just shown, but also with regard to the dates of the princes Narasiṃha and Mahipāla of Dharaṇivarāha's grant. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Mahipāla of the [Haḍḍālā] inscription is identical with the Gūrjara prince Mahipāla vanquished

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192 and footnote 32; *Ganakatarāṅgīnī*, The Paṇḍit, N.S., XIV., 18.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 193.

³ *Loc. Cit.* 192.

⁴ *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 466.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 33-34.

by Narasimha. Now, this Mahipāla, as we have seen, was a paramount sovereign, and for him the date 914 A. D. is furnished by the Haḍḍālā charter. But the only paramount sovereign of the name of Mahipāla reigning about this time was the Mahipāla of the dynasty of Mahōdaya for whom we have the date 917 A. D. of the Asni inscription.¹ Here also there is not only an agreement of names but also an agreement of dates. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Mahipāla of the Haḍḍālā grant, the Gūrjara King Mahipāla defeated by Narasimha, and the Mahipāla of the Mahōdaya dynasty are one and the same prince. Let us now proceed a step further. Narasimha who vanquished Mahipāla was a feudatory chieftain holding the Jōla country, which coincides in the main with the Dhārwar district. Whereas the Mahipāla of Mahōdaya, whom he defeated was a paramount sovereign wielding sway over a vast range of territory in the north. Besides, Pampa tells us that this Mahipāla, being conquered, was pursued by Narasimha, as far as the confluence of the Ganges where the latter bathed his horse.² Now, what can be more unnatural than that Narasimha, who was simply a feudatory and ruled over a small province in the south, should set out for an expedition of conquest as far north as Mahōdaya (Kanauj), defeat Mahipāla, the paramount sovereign of the north, and pursue him as far as the junction of the Ganges? The whole matter is, however, rendered intelligible by the Cambay grant of Gōvinda IV., in my paper on which I have shown that, Indra III., father of this Rāshtrakūṭa prince, overran the north, attacked Mahōdaya, and ousted its ruler Mahipāla.³ Narasimha, being a feudatory of Indra III., must have accompanied this Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign in his expedition of conquest in the north. Next, it must be really Indra III., who pursued Mahipāla as far as the confluence of the Ganges before the latter fled for refuge to Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty. But Pampa transferred to Narasimha the whole credit of defeating Mahipāla and pursuing him as far as the junction of the Ganges, as, being the protégé of Narasimha's son Arikésarin II., he might naturally be expected to magnify his deeds. We thus see that the king Mahipāla defeated by Indra III. was a Gūrjara prince and that

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 178 ff.

² *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana* by Rice, Intro. 26-7.

³ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 30-32.

consequently the Rāshtrakūṭa references to Gūrjaras must be considered to apply to the members of the Mahōdaya dynasty, to which Mahīpāla belonged. The validity of this conclusion can be tested by the identification of another prince of this dynasty. The Vaṇī and Rādhanpur plates¹ of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, Gōvinda III., assert that Gōvinda's father Dhruva drove Vatsarāja into the trackless Maru country, and wrested from him the two royal parasols of the Gaṇḍa king, which he had easily appropriated. The Barōda charter of the Gujārāt Rāshtrakūṭa king Karka states that Gōvinda III. caused Karka's "arm to become the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gūrjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga."² Comparing, as was first done by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,³ the statement of the Vaṇī or Rādhanpur, with that of the Barōda grant, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Vatsarāja defeated by Dhruva was a Gūrjara prince. In the colophon of Jinasēna's Harivaṃśa bearing the date 783-4 A. D.,⁴ Vatsarāja is mentioned as ruling in the west, and Śrīvallabha, son of Kṛishṇa, as ruling in the south. Whether we take Śrīvallabha to be an epithet of Gōvinda II. with Dr. Bhandarkar and Prof. Pathak,⁵ or of his brother Dhruva with Dr. Fleet,⁶ it can hardly be questioned that the Vatsarāja of the Jain Harivaṃśa is the same as the Gūrjara prince Vatsarāja defeated by Dhruva. We thus obtain a specific date, viz. 783-4 A. D., for the Gūrjara king Vatsarāja. In a paper recently contributed by me to this journal, I have given what appear to me to be cogent reasons to show that the kings Rāmabhadra, Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Mahīpāla *alias* Hērambapāla of the Siyāḍōṇī, Pēhēva, Asnī, and Gwalior stone-inscriptions are identical with the homonymous kings of the Daulatpurā, Dighwā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 11.; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 160 and 164.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 466.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XV. 141; *Early History of the Dekhan*, 65; *Ep. Ind.* VI, 195-6; the second half of the stanza beginning with *Śākēshv-abda-satēshu*, &c., does not appear to me to have been properly translated. The word *śriya*, in my opinion, shows that *Avanti-bhūbhṛiti* is to be connected with *pūrvām*, and *Vatsadīrājē* with *aparām*. The translation would then be as follows: "in the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarāja; (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāh" (or "the brave Jayavṛāha"—Peterson, Fourth Report on Sk. MSS. Index of Authors, p. 43, and note).

⁵ *Early History of Dekhan*, 55; Above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI., 195-8.

Dubauli and Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscriptions. The genealogy, therefore, given of Bhôja in the Daulatpurâ plate, *e.g.*, must be supposed to be exactly the same as that of Bhôja of the Gwalior and Siyadônî stone-inscriptions, as they are both one and the same person. In the paper just alluded to, I have also put forth the view that the correct readings of the dates of the plates are 900, 955 and 988, and not 100, 155 and 188 as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, and that these dates are to be referred to the Vikrama era. We thus from the Daulatpurâ plate obtain for Bhôja the date 900 V.E., *i.e.* 844 A.D., which is the earliest of the dates we have for him. Now, in the genealogy of this Bhôja, the name of Vatsarâja is mentioned, and as three generations removed from him.¹ Taking the earliest date, 844 A.D. of Bhôja, and allotting twenty-five years to each one of the three generations, we get the period 769-794 A.D., to which Vatsarâja is to be assigned. And we have seen that Vatsarâja lived about 783 A.D., the date of the Jain Harivamśa in which he is referred to. We thus not only find the name of Vatsarâja occurring in the genealogy of Bhôja who belonged to the Mahôdaya dynasty, but also find that the period calculated for Vatsarâja, allowing an average duration of twenty-five years for each reign, completely agrees with the date we get for him from an independent source. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the dynasty of Mahôdaya, to which Vatsarâja and Mahipâla belonged, was a Gûrjara dynasty, and that the allusions to the Gûrjara princes in the Râshtrakûta records apply to the members of this dynasty.² As the capital of this dynasty was Mahôdaya (Kanauj), the Gûrjara seat of power lay at Kanauj. And extraneous evidence is forthcoming in support of this

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

² The king Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva becomes the same as the prince Vatsarâja mentioned in the Daulatpurâ plate in the genealogy of Bhôja, only if my theory that Râmahadbra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions are identical with Râmahadbra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahipâla or Hêrambapâla of the stone-inscriptions is accepted. In support of the correctness of this theory, it may be said, in addition to the arguments adduced in the paper alluded to above, that, in an unpublished grant of Amôghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. B. Bhandarkar, Gôvinda III. is represented to have vanquished a prince named Nâgabhaṭa. This Nâgabhaṭa is evidently the son of Vatsarâja mentioned in the genealogy of Bhôja and defeated by Dhruva, father of Gôvinda III.

conclusion. About A. D. 916 Abu Zaid, Sulaimân's editor, speaks of Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, i.e. Gûrjara.¹ This means that the Gûrjara princes ruled over a vast range of territory, the capital of which was Kanauj. And the princes, who were reigning at Kanauj about the beginning of the tenth century, were members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, who were thus, according to Abu Zaid, Gûrjaras,—a conclusion which perfectly agrees with what we have already established from an independent source. Next, the Arab traveller, Al Masûdi² (c. 943 A. D.) says that the country of the Balhâras (Râshtrakûtas) extended from the Kankar (Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Juzr (Gûrjara), "a monarch rich in men, horses and camels."³ At another place, Al Masûdi says that the country of the king of Kanauj extended "about a hundred and twenty square *parasangs* of Sindh, each *parasang* being equal to eight miles of this country."⁴ He further tells us that this king had four armies according to the four quarters of the world, and that the army of the south fought against the Balhâra king of Mankîr (Mâlkhet). This means that the kingdom of the Râshtrakûtas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Kanauj. But Al Masûdi also says, as we have just seen, that the Konkan held by the Râshtrakûtas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Juzr, i.e. Gûrjara. The conclusion is, therefore, obvious that, by the kingdom of Juzr and the kingdom of Kanauj, Al Masûdi understands one and the same thing and that consequently the capital of the Juzr, i.e. Gûrjara king was Kanauj. This is a further confirmation of our theory. Next, we find that the kingdoms of the Râshtrakûta and Gûrjara kings were conterminous with one another and that they often waged war with one another. The country of Lâta since the time of Gôvinda III. was held by the Râshtrakûtas, and the boundaries of

¹ *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 526-7.

² *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 519.

³ Compare with this the expression : *Śrī-Mahôdaya-samvolsit-ânêka-gô-hasty-aśva-ratha-patti-sampanna-skandhâvârat*, with which the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-Dubauli and Bengal As. Soc.'s grants begin. The Gûrjara kings were rich in camels as they were in possession of Râjputânâ, which, even to this day, is the habitat of those ruminant quadrupeds. Further, a horse-fair is mentioned in a Pêhêvâ inscription referring itself to the reign of Bhôja (*Ep. Ind.* I. 187).

⁴ *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 518.

Lāta in their times had extended, as shown above, as far as Vaḍnagar in the north. We have also shown that Rājputānā was essentially the country of the Gūrjaras, and in the time of Mahīpāla at any rate, Kāṭhiāwāḍ also owned the Gūrjara sway, inasmuch as the Haḍḍālā grant of the Chāpa prince Dharaṇivarāha, who ruled at Vardhamāna (Vaḍhwāṇ) speaks of Mahīpāla as his overlord. There thus remains little doubt that the boundaries of the Rāshṭrakūṭa and Gūrjara kingdoms were extremely close to one another; and as they were close neighbours, it is no wonder that they were constantly engaged in acts of mutual hostility, as Al Masūdi informs us. We have already seen that Gōvinda III., Amōghavarsha I., Kṛishṇa II. and Kṛishṇa III. are represented in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records to have inflicted defeats upon the Gūrjara kings. And now we have seen that Vatsarāja and Mahīpāla, whom Dhruva and Indra III. respectively vanquished, were also Gūrjara sovereigns. In short, all evidence points to the conclusion that the Rāshṭrakūṭa references to Gūrjaras apply to the dynasty to which Vatsarāja and Mahīpāla belonged. There can be no doubt whatever that, since the time of Bhōja, the capital of the dynasty was Mahōdaya or Kanauj. But whether it was so in the time of Vatsarāja is not certain. But, in the Vaṇi and Rūadhanpur plates, Vatsarāja is spoken of as "intoxicated in consequence of the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa king which he had easily appropriated."¹ If it is supposed that Vatsarāja's power was restricted to Rājputānā only, then it is somewhat difficult to understand how he could have subjugated such a distant territory as the Gauḍa country. But, if it is held that he wielded supremacy over the country, ruled over by Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and others, i.e. as far east as Śrāvastī and Vārāṇasī,² then it becomes intelligible that he should attack and reduce the Gauḍa territory. Again, on the assumption that the capital of this Gūrjara dynasty before the time of Bhōja (A. D. 844-82) was Kanauj, the gap of no less than one hundred years between this king and Yaśōvarman, patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati, who, we know, was reigning at Kanauj as late as

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 157; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243; that Gauḍa here denotes a part of Bengal is shown by the fact that it is associated with Vaṅga in the Barōda grant, which is spoken of as having been conquered by the Gūrjara, who, as mentioned above, was doubtless Vatsarāja.

² *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 141.

A. D. 744,¹ completely disappears, because Dāvaśakti (c. 750 A. D.), the first ruler of this dynasty and father of Vatsarāja (A. D. 769-794) comes quite close to the date 744 A. D. when Yaśōvarman was living. Strong probabilities, therefore, lead us to conclude that the seat of power of this Gûrjara dynasty was at Kanauj from the very beginning.

But even before this Gûrjara dynasty of Mahôdaya came to power there were Gûrjara princes and Gûrjara kingdoms. We have already seen that the Chinese traveller Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.) speaks of the central and northern portions of Rājputānā as the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjaras with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 mentions the Chalukya prince Pulakéśin II. as having defeated the Gûrjaras. Next, the Harshacharita, as shown above, represents Prabhākara-vardhana (c. 585 A. D.) as being (the cause of) "sleeplessness to the Gûrjara king." That these Gûrjaras are to be located in, and held sway over, the greater portion of Rājputānā has been shown above. It is also equally incontrovertible that their capital was, as mentioned by Yuan-Chuang, Pi-lo-mo-lo; but, in my opinion, as said above, no satisfactory identification of this Pi-lo-mo-lo has as yet been established. This is the only knowledge we possess about this Gûrjara dynasty. No epigraphic records have as yet come to light which give us information regarding what the name of this dynasty was and who were the members thereof.

When then did the modern province of Gujarāt come to be called after Gûrjaras? We have seen that, up to the time of the Rāshtrakûṭa king Gōvinda IV., it was known as Lāṭa. Not long after the reign of Gōvinda IV., the Rāshtrakûṭa sovereignty over Lāṭa was overthrown, and that of the Chaulukyas established. And it was evidently in the time of the Chaulukya sovereigns that Gujarāt came to be called after Gûrjaras. The Dôhad inscription of A. D. 1140 speaks of the Chaulukya king Jayasimha as a ruler of Gûrjaramaṇḍala.² In the Somanāth Pāṭaṇ *prasasti* of G. E. 850, i. e. A. D. 1168, the Chaulukya prince Kumārāpāla is called king of the Gûrjaramaṇḍala.³ In many other records of the Chaulukya period and later, Gujarāt has been differently called after Gûrjaras. Thus in the Gīrnār

¹ Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmīr, by Dr. Stein, Vol. I., p. 132, footnote 134.

² *Ind. Ant.* X. 159.

³ *Vienna Ori. Jour.* III. 9.

inscriptions of Vastupāla and Tējapāla, Gūjaramaṇḍala is referred to and is spoken of as including Dhavalakkaka (Dhōlkā) and other towns.¹ In a Jain work named Paṭṭāvalivāchanā, the province is called Gurjaradēśa, in which the city of Kappaḍavaṇija (Kapaḍvanj) is mentioned as included.² In an inscription, dated V. E. 1556, the town of Ahimmaḍavāda is spoken of as situated in Gūjjaradharitri.³ In the colophon of the work entitled *Pravāsakṛitya*, the author Gaṅgādhara says that he completed it in V. E. 1163 at Stambhatirtha (Cambay) in Gurjaramaṇḍala.⁴ We find Gujarāt mentioned also by the name of Gūjjaratrā. Thus in Jinadattasūri's *Gaṇadharaśārdhāśataka*, Gujarattā (Gūjjaratrā) is referred to with its capital Anahillavāḍa (Anahillapāṭaka) and with king Durlabharāja reigning there.⁵ Again, Gūjjaratrā is mentioned in Dharmasāgaragaṇi's *Gurvāvalisūtra*, wherein Śrī Dēvēndrasūri is represented to have gone to Gūjjaratrā from Ujjayini in Mālavaka.⁶ It will thus be seen that it was after the establishment of the Chaulukya power that Gujarāt came to be variously called after Gūjjaras. It will be further seen that Gūjjaratrā was one of the names by which the province was called after Gūjjaras. This is highly important, because it supplies us with the original name from which the modern name Gujarāt is to be derived. Attempts have been made to trace Gujarāt to Gūjjara-rāshṭra and Gūjjara-rātra.⁷ With regard to the first of these names, its modern equivalent would be Gujarāth and not Gujarāt. The change of *śha* into *ta*, instead of into *ṭha*, which this proposal involves, is philologically improbable. With regard to the second name, though Gūjjara-rātra might pass into Gujarāt, the name itself is unknown to Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature as well as inscriptions. But the corruption of Gūjjaratrā into Gujarāt is perfectly regular and natural. Besides, we have seen above that Gūjjaratrā was the name of a province in Rājputānā called after Gūjjaras. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that, a portion of Lāṭa, when occupied by Gūjjaras, should similarly be called Gūjjaratrā after them. I say

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. 170.

² Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 1040.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 299.

⁴ *Notices of Sk. MSS.* by Mitra, Vol. II., pp. 118-4.

⁵ Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 990.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1008.

⁷ *History of Gujarāt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 2 and 85.

a portion of Lāṭa, because from the above it will be easily perceived that, as the province held by the Gūrjaras included Dholkā, Kapaḍvanj, Ahmedābād, Pāṭaṇ and Cambay, it did not extend to the south of the Mahī. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lāṭa mentioned in inscriptions during the Chaulukya period side by side with such expressions as Gūrjaradēśa, Gūrjaramaṇḍala and so forth.¹ And even to this day both Hindus and Muhammadans of Surat visiting Pāṭaṇ and Ahmedābād speak of going to Gujarāt, whereas the Ahmedābād division of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas call their caste-people of Surat Kunkaṇās.²

It is thus clear that a portion of Lāṭa first came to be called after Gūrjaras, when it came under the sway of the Chaulukyas. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras. The first independent king of the Chaulukya dynasty was Mūlarāja. In one of his copper-plate charters, dated V. E. 1043, he is called *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Mūlarāja*, son of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Rāji*.³ In another of his grants, dated V. E. 1051, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Mūlarājadēva*.⁴ It is thus plain that in and before V. E. 1043, the date of the first grant Mūlarāja was not a paramount sovereign. Besides, in the first grant, he is spoken of as having conquered by the strength of his arms the Sārasvatamaṇḍala, the country surrounding Anahilavāḍa the capital of the Chaulukyas. This means that Mūlarāja was not originally a king, but made himself so by his conquests. And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Rāja (properly Rāji) came from Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja.⁵ Where this Kalyāṇakaṭaka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that, in all likelihood, Kalyāṇakaṭaka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahōdaya. And Mahōdaya and Kalyāṇa are identical in meaning. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in the copper-plate charters of Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Vināyakaṭaka, Mahōdaya is called a *skandhāvāra*.⁶ *Skandhāvāra*

¹ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.* V. 31.

² *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 5, footnote 1.

³ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 191 ff. * *Vienna Ori. Jour.* V. 300.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 181; *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 150 and 150-7.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211; *Ind. Ant.* XV. 113 and 140.

and *Kāṭaka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence Kalyāṇakāṭaka is equivalent to Mahōdayaskandhāvāra, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by Kalyāṇakāṭaka in the Kānyakubja country Kanauj is meant. Mûlarāja thus becomes connected with Kanauj in the north, which, as shown above, was up to the middle of the tenth century a seat of the Gûrjara power. Mûlarāja thus appears to be of Gûrjara nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras.

With the Chaulukyas are closely associated Paramâras, Châhamânas and Pratihâras, all of them being styled Agnikulas. Colonel Tod mentions a tradition with regard to the origin of these Agnikulas.¹ On Mount Abu the Brâhmaṇas were disturbed by the demons in the performance of their sacrifice. So assembling round the *agni-kunḍa* under the presidency of Vasishṭha, they prayed to Mahâdêva, and from the pit of the sacrificial fire arose a figure whom the Brâhmaṇas placed as guardian of the gate, and hence his name "Prithihadwara" contracted to Parihâr (Pratihâra). A second arose, and, being formed in the palm of the hand (*chuluka*), was called "Chalook" (Chaulukya). A third issued forth and was named Pramâra (Paramâra), and a fourth figure appeared quadriform (*chaturanga*), and hence his name Chohân (Châhamâna). As the ancestors of Pratihâras, Chaulukyas, Paramâras and Châhamânas all issued forth from the *agni-kunḍa*, it is plain that they have a common origin, and that hence they belong to one and the same race. And as we have seen that the Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras, it is not unreasonable to argue that the other three families also are of the Gûrjara stock. In the case of Pratihâras at any rate, there can be no doubt, since, as was seen above, in the Râjôr stone-inscription Mathanadêva is called a Gûrjara-Pratihâra, which must, I think, be interpreted to mean that he was of the Pratihâra family and of the Gûrjara race. Three considerations indirectly make the Paramâras Gûrjaras. The first is that the Firozpur Gûjars of the Punjab have a tradition that they came there from Dâr nagar in the south.² As Dhûrâ was from the beginning the seat of the Paramâra power, this may be

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Calcutta edition), Vol. I., pp. 88-9.

² Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 263, para. 480.

considered as a not unlikely indication of the Paramâras being Gûjars. The second consideration is that the Gûrjara Châvaḍās were a branch of Paramâras; and the third is that the Gûrjara Osvāls are Paramâras.¹

We thus see that Gujarât is the modern form of the Sanskrit Gûrjaratrâ and that Gujarât came to be so called when it was occupied by the Chaulukyas. But it has been shown above that, even before as now, not the whole, but the northern part only, of the present Gujarât was known as Gûrjaradêśa or Gûrjaratrâ, and that, during the Chaulukya period, the southern part continued for some time to be called Lâṭa. It must not, however, be supposed that, when the northern part of Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras during the period of the Chaulukya supremacy, Râjputânâ, which was known as Gûrjaradêśa before the Chaulukya period ceased to be so known. Thus, in the Abu inscription of V. E. 1342, Samarasimha, to whose reign it refers itself, is described as "lifting the deeply sunk Gûrjara-mahî out of the Turushka sea."² Here Gûrjara-mahî doubtless denotes Mēdapâṭa (Mēvâḍ) held by Samarasimha and the country surrounding it. Similarly, Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1031) tells us that to the south-east of Kanauj lay "Guzarat," the capital of which was Bazân *alias* Nârâyan, which was not far from Jaipûr.³ This means that, even from the time of Al Biruni to the time of Samarasimha, a portion of Râjputânâ continued to be called after Gûrjaras.

A few words regarding the origin of the Gûrjaras will not, I think, be out of place. General Cunningham identifies them with the Tochari, *alias* Yuechi, *alias* Kushana. The reason alleged by him in support of his thesis is that, besides the Jats whom he identifies with the Zanthii of Strabo, and the Liatti of Pliny and Ptolemy, Gûjars "are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjab and North-Western Provinces of India who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era."⁴ Though the reason put forth by Cunningham is not convincing, the fact that, the Śrīmāli Brâhmanas and most of the present chiefs of Râjputânâ, which was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, trace

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., pt. II., p. 485.

² *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 350.

³ Sachau, Al Biruni, I. 202; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 520.

⁴ *Arch. Surv. Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. II. p. 70.

their origin to Kanak or Kanaksen, who is commonly supposed to be Kanishka, seems to support his view.¹ But we must not attach too much importance to the legends about Kanaksen, for the Turks of Kâbul, who are certainly not older than the latter part of the sixth century in that reign also claimed Kanishka as an ancestor.² Mr. J. S. Nesfield, however, propounds the theory that the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are the necessary intermediate link between the hunting and the agricultural, that the word Gûjar, in particular, comes from the Sanskrit *gôchâra* or cattle-grazer, and that consequently they are not of an alien stock.³ In the first place, the Sanskrit word *gôchâra* does not mean a cattle-grazer, as Mr. Nesfield supposes. Secondly, the custom of many foreign Hinduized royal families of identifying their dynastic, with epic, names, and tracing their descent from some epic hero is too well-known to require any proof. Next, the genuine Aryan *gôpas*, or herdsmen, so far as we can judge from the Pâli Jâtakas and Mahâbhârata, were of settled habits. But the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats, have even to this day preserved their nomadic and predatory instincts to a more or less extent. This would point to their scythic, rather than Aryan, origin.

Many ethnologists are of opinion that Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are all of one ethnic stock, and that the differences that are visible between them are to be explained by the fact that they entered India at different times or settled in different parts.⁴ Of these hordes, Ahirs appear to be the earliest, who poured into India. Abhîras, i.e., Ahirs, are mentioned as a tribe in the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁵ An Abhîra prince is also referred to in a Nâsik cave-inscription of the third century.⁶ A third inscription found at Gûnda and dated A. D. 181 in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha speaks of his general Rudrabhûti who is therein called an Abhîra.⁷ The Abhîras were thus settled in India as early as the latter half of the second century after Christ. Next in chronolo-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 462, footnote 3.

² A note from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.

³ *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, &c., p. 12, para. 26.

⁴ Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 265.

⁵ *Cor. Ins. Ind.* III. p. 8.

⁶ *Arch. Sura. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* X. 157.

gical order come the Gûrjars. It has been shown above that the country of Gûrjars is alluded to by Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.), that they are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 as being defeated by the Chaulukya prince Pulakêsi II., and that they are spoken of by Bâṇa in his Harshacharita as being vanquished by Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) An earlier reference to Gûrjars than that of A. D. 585 cannot be traced. They may, therefore, be supposed to have penetrated India about the beginning of the sixth century. The Jats, in my opinion, were the last to enter India, inasmuch as they do not appear to have been anywhere mentioned in ancient inscriptions or to have wielded sway over any province like Abhîras or Gûrjars before the Muhammadan conquest. Now, the principal feature of these foreign tribes that strikes us is, that, when they entered the Panjâb from the north-west, they advanced further both to the east and the south, conquering and settling in various provinces called after them. The Ahirs are thus found in large numbers to the east as far as Bengal; and, in the Mirzâpur district of the North-Western Provinces, there is a tract of land called Ahraura doubtlessly named after them. The Ahirs are spread to the south as far as the Dekkan; and, as an Abhîra prince is mentioned in a Nâsik cave-inscription, as we have just seen, it is clear that the Abhîras once held sway over Mahârâshtra. Besides, the province called Abîrwâr to the south of Jhansi shows that the Ahirs had gained a footing even in Central India. It is true that, in the Panjâb proper to the exclusion of the Dehli and Gurgaon Districts, no Ahirs are at present found. But in the Musala Parva of the Mahâbhârata, Arjuna is represented to have been waylaid by Abhîras in the Pañchanadêśa, i.e. the Panjâb, as he was going from Dvârakâ to Mathurâ with the widowed females and treasures of the Yâdavas after burning the dead bodies of Kṛishṇa and Balarâma.¹ These Abhîras are therein called Dasyus and Mlechchhas. This shows that, in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Musala Parva was probably composed, the Abhîras did exist in the Panjâb, and that, as they are spoken of as banditti and foreigners, they are undoubtedly to be considered as a foreign nomadic tribe. With regard to the present distribution of the Gûjars, in the hilly country of Jammu, Chibhâl and Hazâl in the Panjâb and away in the Independent Territory lying to the north of Peshâwar as far as the Swat river

¹ *Adhyâya*, 7; also *Vishṇu Purâna* by Wilson, *Cap.* 38.

Gûjar herdsmen are found in large numbers. "Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."¹ This, in my opinion, unmistakably points to their Scythian, rather than Âryan, origin. In the Southern Panjâb they are not so numerous as they are towards the north, "where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujranwâla, in the Rechna Duâb, Gujarât in the Chaj Duâb, and Gûjar Khân in the Sindh Sâgar Duâb."² To the east they have spread in great numbers down the Upper Jumna; and, in the Sahâranpur district, which during the eighteenth century was actually called Gujarât. Still further to the east "they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bundelkhand." To the south they have spread as far as the Gujarât province of the Bombay Presidency. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gûjargâr after the Gûjars. That the larger portion of Râjputânâ was known as Gûjara-dêsa and that the peninsula of Gujarât owes its name to these Gûjars has already been shown in detail. That up to the middle of the tenth century almost the whole of North India, excepting Bengal, owned their supremacy, with their seat of power at Kanauj and that their might afterwards overshadowed Central India and the peninsula of Gujarât with their capital at Anahillapâtaka has also been shown above.

Another noteworthy feature about these Âbhîras and Gûjaras is the way in which they are gradually being merged into the Hindu population. Thus in Khândesh, many craftsmen classes are split up into two divisions, simple and Ahir. Thus besides Âbhîra Brâhmanas and Ahirs proper, there are Ahir Sonârs or goldsmiths, Ahir Sutârs or carpenters, Ahir Sâlis or weavers, Ahir Guravs or temple-servants and Ahir Kolis or fishers.³ Similarly in Gujarât many artisan and other classes are of two divisions, simple and Gûjar. Thus there are Gûjar Kanbis or husbandmen, Gûjar Vâñiâs or traders, Gûjar Suthârs or carpenters, Gûjar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gûjar Kumbhârs or potters and Gûjar Salâts or masons.⁴ As a new foreign tribe

¹ Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 263.

² *Arch. Surv. Reports*, by Cunningham, Vol. II. pp. 71-2.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII, p. 39 and footnote 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 4.

settles, many of its members gradually give up their original profession, follow the occupations of different castes, and are thus broken up into many divisions, each division being known by the name of its calling. In process of time, by a fiction too wide-spread to require any proof, that community of occupation presupposes community of origin, each division of the new tribe traces descent from the same source as that of the other people of the caste pursuing the same calling. The original tribal name soon sinks to the name of a division or to a mere surname, and the whole tribe is thus absorbed into the general class.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1902.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 6th March 1902.

Present.

His Excellency Lord Northcote, G.C.I.E., Patron of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. James MacDonald, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Dr. D. Macdonald, Mr. H. O. Quin, Mr. V. D. Thackersey, Mr. M. D. Thackersey, Mr. B. N. Sirvai, Mr. M. R. Bodas, Mr. N. M. Cama, Mr. K. R. Cama, Mr. P. V. Mawjee, Mr. Furdoonjee Jamsetjee, Mr. S. T. Bhandare, Mr. J. S. Sanjagiri, Mr. R. S. Rastamjee, Shamsul Ulma Jivanji J. Modi, Shamsul Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, Mr. R. P. Karkaria, Mr. J. E. Aspinwall, Rev. R. Macomish, Rev. W. G. Robertson, Mr. Nanabhai N. Saher, Mr. P. A. Wadia, Rev. Fr. Wallrath, Rev. Dr. B. DeMonte, Mr. H. S. Lawrence, Mr. H. Kennard, Dr. G. B. Kher, Mr. Shamrao Vithal, Mr. R. Taylor, Mr. C. D. M. Limjee, Col. G. W. Mitchell, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. Vakil, Mr. J. M. Dick, Mr. J. E. Modi, and the Rev. R. Scott—*Hony. Secretary.*

Visitors.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, The Hon. Mr. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee and Mr. A. Pedler, Members of the Indian Universities Commission, and Mr. J. H. Du Boulay (Private Secy. to H. E. Lord Northcote).

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report for 1901 :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1901.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—Fifty-four members were elected during the year, and 2 non-resident members returned to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident Members. Twenty-seven members resigned, 21 retired, 5 died and 7, having left Bombay, desired to be transferred to the non-resident list. The total number of members at the close of 1901 was 291. The number at the end of 1900 was 295.

Non-Resident.—Six new members were added to this class and 7 were transferred from the list of Resident Members : 1 died and 2 were placed on the resident list. The number on the roll at the end of the year was 62. The number at the end of the preceding year was 52.

OBITUARY.

The Society regret to announce the loss by death during the year of the following members :—

RESIDENT.

Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade.
J. Jackson, Esq.
F. G. Parrott, Esq.
Col. C. B. Maitland.

NON-RESIDENT.

C. G. Dodgson, Esq., I.C.S.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The papers contributed to the Society during the year were :—

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundeesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A New Chalukya Grant of Kirtivarma II, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.
Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastoor Meherji Rana, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on the six Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The total issues of books during the year were 36,648 volumes ; 25,137 of new books including periodicals and 11,511 of the old. The issues during 1900 were 35,029 volumes ; 23,991 of new books and 11,033 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

			Old Books.	New Books.	Daily Average.
January	...	...	934	1,623	102
February	...	..	1,043	1,705	119
March	...	...	1,092	1,634	109
April	...	...	1,203	2,623	153
May	...	...	892	2,761	140
June	...	...	982	2,224	128
July...	...	...	1,065	2,293	124
August	...	...	1,058	2,125	122
September	...	...	865	2,221	128
October	...	...	904	2,282	122
November	...	..	657	1,779	101
December	...	...	816	1,867	112

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels	11,194
Miscellaneous and works on several subjects by the same Authors...	1,538
Biography and Personal Narratives	1,505
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,067
History and Chronology	1,042
Oriental Literature	911
Naval and Military	595
Transactions of Learned Societies, Reviews, Magazines, &c....	575
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	567
English Poetry and Drama	493
Religion and Theology	440
Philology, Literary History, &c.	350
Foreign Literature...	317
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	310
Fine Arts, Architecture, &c.	276
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, &c.	273
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c....	216
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	205
Classics and Translations	190
Government Publications and Public Records	161
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	141
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	105
Jurisprudence	91
Grammatical Works...	82
Logic and Rhetoric	27
Periodicals, in loose numbers	13,317

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during 1901 were 1,043 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these 758 were added by purchase and 285 by presentation. The presents as usual were chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few by individual authors and other donors.

The volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are shown in the subjoined table:—

	Pur- chased.	Pre- sented.
Religion and Theology	13	1
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	6	...
Classics and Translations... ..	11	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	10	...
History and Chronology	33	2
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce	9	20
Jurisprudence	4	6
Government Publications and Public Records	17	131
Biography and Personal Narratives	50	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	5	6
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography... ..	29	2
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	15	1
Novels, Romances and Tales	247	...
Miscellaneous, and works on several subjects by the same Authors	51	3
Foreign Literature... ..	1	1
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Astronomy	6	2
Fine Arts and Architecture	14	3
Naval and Military Subjects	30	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Chemistry	13	...
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	4	2
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	7	3
Encyclopædias, Transactions of Learned Societies, Annuals and Serials, &c.	162	60
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	5	...
Oriental Literature	16	42

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were:—

Literary Monthlies	16
Illustrated Papers and Magazines	17

Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of	
Learned Societies, &c.	36
Reviews	14
English Newspapers	20
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	14
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	22
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	31

At a meeting of the Society called for under Article XX of the Rules for the Revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society, it was resolved to subscribe to :—

Country Life,
Benares Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series (for one year),
East and West ;

and to discontinue—

Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Academie des Sciences,
India,
St. James' Budget,

from the beginning of 1902.

COIN CABINET.

The accessions to the Coin Cabinet during the year were 21 ; 2 gold, 11 silver, 4 copper, and 4 lead. All the coins were received from different Governments under the Treasure-Trove Act.

A detailed descriptive list of the coins is subjoined :—

Presented by the Bombay Government—

- 6 Silver coins of Aurangzeb, found in the Ratnagiri District.
- 1 Silver coin of Shah Jehan, found in the Ratnagiri District.
- 1 Silver coin of Shah Alam, found in the Ratnagiri District.
- 1 Gold coin of the Khaliffs, A. H. 80, found in the Ratnagiri District.
- 1 Copper coin of Ahmad Shah II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.
- 1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan III., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Chalukya gold coin of Jagadekamalla, found in the Bijapur District.

Presented by the Government of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh—

1 Silver coin of Asata Pala, King of Kabul.

2 Silver coins of Shah Alam II.

Presented by the Government of Madras—

1 Copper coin of Aurangzeb, found in Pattikondad Taluq, Kurnool District.

4 Leaden coins of the Andhra Dynasty (Horse Type), found in the village of Bathalapalli, Anantapur District.

JOURNAL.

Number 57 being the first number of a new volume (Vol. XXI), has been published and will be issued in a few days. With it will also be issued Index, Title-page, and Contents of Volume XX., which has been completed.

The new number contains the following papers and abstract of Proceedings of the Society for 1901, and a list of Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period :—

On the Jaina Poem Rāghavapāndaviya, a Reply to Prof. Max Müller, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

The Ancient Name of Sanjan, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

Apastamba and Baudhāyana, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, by V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundeshesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on some Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Shridhar R. Bandarkar, M.A.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented:—

Bombay Government.	Royal Geographical Society,
Government of India.	London.
Government of Bengal.	Statistical Society, London.
Government of Madras.	Royal Astronomical Society.
Punjab Government.	Literary and Philosophical Society
Government, N.-W. Provinces and	Manchester.
Oudh.	Imperial Academy of Science,
Chief Commissioner, Central Pro-	St. Petersburg.
vinces.	Smithsonian Institution, Wash-
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.	ington.
Resident, Hyderabad.	Royal Society of Northern Anti-
Government of Burmah.	quaries, Copenhagen.
Geological Survey of India.	Royal Society of Edinburgh.
G. T. Survey of India.	Deutsche Morgenlandischen Ge-
Marine Survey of India.	sellschaft, Leipzig.
Bengal Asiatic Society.	Literary and Philosophical Society,
Agricultural Society of India.	Liverpool.
Literary Society of Madras.	British Museum, London.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	Royal Society, London.
Bombay University.	Royal Asiatic Society, Great
Madras University.	Britain and Ireland.
Punjab University.	Académie Real das Sciences de
Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.	Lisboa.
Government Museum, Madras.	Société de Géographie Commer-
Indian Journal of Education,	cial de Bordeaux.
Madras.	Société de Géographie de Lyons.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.	Hungarian Academy of Sciences
R. A. Society, North-China	(Buda Pest).
Branch.	Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.	Royal Dublin Society.
Batavian Society of Arts and	Société Géographie de Paris.
Sciences.	Connecticut Academy of Arts and
Strasburg Library.	Sciences.
Geographical Society, Vienna.	United States Survey.
London Institution of Civil En-	Kaiserliche Akademie der Wis-
gineers.	senchaften, Vienna.

United Service Institution,
 Minnesota Academy of Natural
 Science.
 India Office Library.
 London Bible Society.
 Vienna Orientalische Museum.
 Boston Society of Natural
 History.
 Musée Guimét, Lyons.
 Victoria Institution, London.
 Royal Institution, Great Britain.
 American Geographical Society.
 American Oriental Society.
 Hamilton Association, America.
 Editor, Journal of Comparative
 Neurology, Granville, Ohio,
 U. S. A.

American Museum of Natural
 History.
 Société Asiatique, Paris.
 Geological Society, London.
 Royal Academy of Sciences,
 Amsterdam.
 American Philological Association,
 Cambridge.
 Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
 Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
 University of Kansas, U. S. A.
 Director, Missouri Botanical
 Garden.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of receipts and disbursements during 1901 accompanies the Report. The total amount of subscriptions received from members during the year was Rs.11,509-14. The subscriptions in the year preceding amounted to Rs.10,673-5-5. There was besides a sum of Rs.500, on account of life subscription received from one Resident Member which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance at the end of the year was Rs.397-9-2 and the invested funds of the Society amount to Rs.14,700-0-0.

Address of Condolence to His Majesty the King on the death of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.

The Committee of Management at their meeting on the 21st of February, resolved that an address, on behalf of the Society, expressing sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress and offering condolence be sent to King Edward VII.

In accordance with this resolution, the following address was prepared and forwarded to the King, through His Excellency the Governor, the Patron of the Society : —

To

**His Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII, By
the Grace of God, King of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.**

**THE HUMBLE AND LOYAL ADDRESS OF
THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY.**

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—We, the President and the Members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to offer to your Majesty our humble and sincere condolence on the death of your revered Mother of Glorious Memory, our late Queen-Empress.

This Society is a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, having become incorporated therewith in the year 1829. The Royal Asiatic Society has always profited by the favour and sympathy of the reigning Sovereign, and our Great Empress, deeply interested as she was in all that concerned the welfare of her Indian subjects, never failed to give her gracious and warm encouragement to those whose labours were devoted to the languages and literatures of the East. The object of the Society had Her Majesty's approval and all earnest efforts to unlock the secrets of the past and to bring to light the thoughts of the ancestors of the peoples of this land were sure of her sympathy and of such furtherance as was in her power to give.

In common with your Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire, we bewail the loss of one so deeply revered and so greatly beloved as was the late Queen, while at the same time we give thanks to the memory of a life so gracious and so noble, and we beg to offer our respectful and sincere sympathy to Your Majesty and to Your Majesty's House in a sorrow which is shared by British subjects over all the world.

In conclusion we would respectfully tender our most earnest assurance of devoted loyalty to Your Majesty's throne and person.

(Sd). E. T. CANDY,
President.

(Sd). R. M. GRAY,
Hony. Secretary.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan proposed the adoption of the Report.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. H. O. Quin, was carried.

On the motion of Mr. James MacDonald, seconded by Mr. K. R. Cama, the following Committee and Auditors were appointed for 1902:—

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.

Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq.

M. Macmillan, B.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, B.A., LL.B.

Members.

D. MacDonald, M.D., B.Sc., C.M.

Camrudin Amirudin, B.A.

Framji R. Viccaji, B.A., LL.B.

The Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamsetji Modi, B.A.

K. G. Desai, L.C.E.

Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, B.A.

Prof. A. L. Covernton, M.A.

R. M. Watson-Smyth, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Darasha R. Chichgar.

Prof. W. H. Sharp, M.A.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S.

Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. R. Scott, M.A.

Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Framroze Ardesir Vakil, B.A., LL.B.

The President then briefly addressed the meeting, explaining the many advantages of the Society's library, as well as the lectures delivered by native scholars, offered to those who became members of that body. In conclusion he requested His Excellency the Governor, who was their patron, and who had kindly attended the meeting, to address a few words to them.

THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the meeting as follows :—Though I have *ex-officio* the honour to be its patron, yet in attending the meeting to-day of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, let me premise that I am here as a *chela* and not as a *guru*. When we were originally constituted in 1804 I read that the subjects of our inquiries were to be divided into two classes—physical and moral. The former branch was to include Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, Climatic Conditions, and Medicine. Our moral studies were to comprise every branch of information contained in the modern census—plus the origin and distribution of public wealth, prices of commodities, system of land tenure, rates of interest, commercial statistics of all sorts—these were only some of the problems the Asiatic Society was invited to solve. Well might Sir James Mackintosh point out the advantages Government would derive from an accurate knowledge of these problems—though I respectfully differ from the view he then expressed as to the facility with which the

investigations could be carried out. Indeed could our original programme have been fulfilled, the post of Governor of Bombay might well have been merged in that of patron of the Royal Asiatic Society. As a matter of fact, the Society has taken up its natural position of one for the promotion of the study of Oriental literature, antiquities, and geographical research ; and if I may take the last report I have read as a fair average specimen of its proceedings, I think we are well justifying our existence. The class of readers to whom the Society's publications appeal must necessarily be limited, but the contributors to our reports work rather, we know, for the honour of the Society than for popular recognition. But even a person like myself, who has no pretension to claim more than the most superficial acquaintance with early Indian history or traditions must read with pleasure such lights as are thrown on the rise of the priestly and decline of the Kshatriya class in the interesting article on the " Samhita of the Rig Veda." Again in the " Peep into the Early History of India " not only do I for one gather more accurate information than I possessed as to the circumstances of the foundation of the great Gupta Dynasty, but incidentally I find the illustrious law-giver King Asoka justifying the practices of modern Viceroys and Governors, by his instructions to his officers " to go on tour every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness, and for other matters," to which other matters I fear modern officials pay the most attention nowadays. And I need hardly say that the late Mr. Justice Ranade's " Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries " is a paper, the interest and importance of which is fully appreciated by many who are not members of the Asiatic Society. If our financial circumstances hereafter should permit I should be very glad to see Government take part in the cost of the translation of the Diaries now at Poona, but this at present is unfortunately not practicable. One thing is certain, that for years to come there is an ample field in India for the labour of such a society as this ; and most earnestly do I hope that its members in Bombay will continue to labour successfully to disseminate their valuable stores of learning amongst an increasingly appreciative public.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, in a few words, thanked the Chairman and members for offering him and his colleagues such hearty welcome.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Royal Asiatic Society.*from 1st January to 31st December 1901.*

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Books purchased in Bombay	1,819	13	0			
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—						
Books Rs. ...584-15-5	2,754	8	10			
English Newspapers and Periodicals „ 2,169-9-5						
Subscription to Indian Newspapers	315	0	0			
Printing Charges	668	4	0			
Do. of Journal Numbers	2,350	1	0			
Binding Charges	869	3	0			
Office Establishment	6,178	12	0			
General Charges	559	1	6			
Stationery	86	15	6			
Postage and Receipt Stamps	114	14	6			
Shipping and Landing Charges	12	14	6			
Gas Charges	77	10	4			
Insurance	312	8	0			
Grain Compensation	162	0	0			
Pension	300	0	0			
Balance in Bank of Bombay	351	7	8	16,581	10	2
Do. in hand	46	1	6			
				397	9	2
Government Promissory Note Purchased ... ..	.....			16,979	3	4
				500	0	0
Total ... Rs.	.....			17,479	3	4
<i>Invested Funds.</i>				Rs.		Rs.
Government Paper of the Society ... ..	...	11,700				
The Premchand Roychand Fund ... ..	...	3,000				
				14,700		

R. SCOTT,
Honorary Secretary.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 13th November 1902.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read:—(1) "The History of Gurjars and their Final Settlement in Gujerat," by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., and (2) "Portuguese Documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries relating to Parsees," by Mr. J. Godinho.

On the proposition of Mr. R. P. Karkaria, seconded by Mr. S.T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Godinho for the papers contributed by them.

With regard to Mr. Godinho's paper, which contained translations of documents testifying to services rendered by Parsees to the Portuguese during their wars with the Marathas, there was considerable difference of opinion as to the light thrown on the history and the social position of the Parsees about the period to which the documents referred.

Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Bhandare and Mr. Modi took part in the discussion.

A General Meeting of the Society, under Article XX of the Rules, was held on Thursday, the 26th November 1902, for the revision of the papers and periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

It was agreed first to consider the list for the present year.

After going over this list it was resolved that the following be discontinued from the commencement of the next year :—

Churchman.

Record.

LeMuseon.

Granthamûlâ.

The proposals from members with regard to new periodicals were then put to the vote, with the result that the "Hibbert Journal" was added to the list (for one year) and the "Revue de Paris" was substituted for the "Nouvelle Revue."

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.
1902.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNTS of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1901-02.	Government of India.
ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1901	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	The Trustees.
_____ Report, Bombay Jail Department, 1901.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report, Bombay Port Trust, 1901-02.	The Trustees.
_____ Report, Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1901-02.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, 1900-01.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
_____ Report, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1900-01.	N - W. P and Oudh Government.
_____ Report of Irrigation Works in the Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report, Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency, 1901-02.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Punjab Registration Department, for 1899-1900, 1900-01 and 1901-02.	Punjab Government.
_____ Report, Railways in India for 1900-01.	Government of India.
_____ Report of Bengal, 1900-01.	Bengal Government.
_____ Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1900-01.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report of Burma, 1900-01.	Chief Commissioner, Burma.
_____ Report of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1900-01.	The Resident.
_____ Report of the Madras Presidency, 1900-01.	Madras Government.

ADMINISTRATION Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

————— Report, Central India Agency, for 1900-01.

Government of India.

————— Rajputana States and Ajmer-Merwara, 1900-01.

Government of India.

AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1901, Nos. 13 & 14.

Government of India.

————— Ledger, 1902, Nos. 1-7.

Government of India.

————— Statistics of India, 1896-97 to 1900-01.

Government of India.

ANNOTATED Returns of the Dispensaries in Central India for 1900.

Government of India.

ANNUAL Report, Stamp Department, 1901 & 1902.

Bombay Government.

AREA and Yield, 1891-92 to 1901-02.

Government of India.

AUSTRALASIAN Association for the Advancement of Science, Report, 1900.

The Association.

BOMBAY Gazetteer—Gujerath Population—Hindus, Vol. IX., Part I.

Bombay Government.

————— Quarterly Civil List, January, 1902.

Bombay Government.

BRITISH Guinea Medical Annual, 1902. By A. T. Ozzard and C. P. Kennard.

The Authors.

BULLETIN of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI., Part IV., 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

————— of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV., 1901, and Vol. XV., Part I., 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

————— of the Lloyd Library of Boston, Pharmacy and Materia Medica, 1902.

Lloyd Library.

BUNDESHESH.

The Parsee Punchayat.

CANDRA-Vyakarana by Bruno Liehiet.

Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

CALENDAR, Bombay University, 1902-03.

Bombay University.

CALENDAR, Madras University, 1902-03.

Madras University.

———— Punjab University, 1902-03.

Punjab University.

CATALOGUE of Berlin Library, Latin MSS.

Berlin Library.

———— of Greek Coins, British Museum.

British Museum.

———— of Pali Singhalese and Sanskrit MSS. in the Colombo Museum Library.

Colombo Museum and Library.

CENSUS of India, 1901. Reports :—

Ajmer-Merwara, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Assam, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baluchistan, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baroda, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Bombay (Town and Island), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

————(Presidency), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Berar, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central India, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central Provinces, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Coorg.

Bombay Government.

Gwalior, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Kashmir, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Madras, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

North-West-Provinces and Oudh, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Punjab, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Rajputana, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900 and 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

**DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta Sanskrit College,
Vol. IV., Purana MSS.**

Government of Bengal.

DICTIONARY of the Gathic Language of the Zend Avesta, Vol. III.

The Parsee Punchayat.

DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, Vols. II—V. By Woodman.

Government of India.

DISCOVERY of Solomon Islands, Vols. 1 and 2. (Hakluyt Society).

Bombay Government.

EAST India ; Accounts and Estimates.

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Administration Report, Railways in India, 1901.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Case of Mr. A. P. Pennell.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Financial Statement, 1902-03.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; N.-W. Frontier, Mahsud-Waziri Operations.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Opium. Return of Correspondence as to a Memorial
from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium
Trade, dated December 1901.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Papers regarding the Famine and Relief Operations in
India during 1900-02.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Petitions of Officers of P. W. Department.**

Secretary of State for India.

— **India ; Review of Trade of India, 1901-02.**

Secretary of State for India.

EKAGNIKANDA of the Krishna Yajurveda.

Mysore Government.

EPIGRAPHIA Carnatica, Vol. I. and Vol. V., part 2.

Mysore Government.

ESTIMATE, Revenue and Expenditure, Government of India, 1901-02.

Secretary of State for India.

**FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the
year 1900-01.**

Government of India.

GREEK Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Vol. II.

Trustees of the Hunterian Coin Catalogue Fund.

G. T. SURVEY of India, Vol. XVI., Details of Tidal Observations.
Government of India.

———— Synoptical, Vol. XXIX.

Government of India.

HANDBOOK of the New Library of Congress in Washington.

Smithsonian Institution.

HISTOIRE du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde (Annales du Musee Guimet).

Musee Guimet.

HISTORY of Services.—Civil Department, Bombay, corrected up to 1st July 1902.

Bombay Government.

———— of Sind, Vol. II. By Mirza Kalich Beg Fradun Beg.

The Author.

IMPERIAL Institute, Annual Report, 1901-02.

Secretary of State for India.

INDIAN Expenditure, Royal Commission, Copy of Further Correspondence with Secretary of State for India.

Secretary of State for India.

———— Law Reports (Allahabad Series), 1901.

Government, United Provinces of India.

———— Law Reports (Bombay Series), 1901.

Bombay Government.

———— Law Reports, (Calcutta Series), 1901.

Government of India.

———— Law Reports (Madras Series), 1901.

Madras Government.

———— Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. XII., Parts II. & III.

Government of India.

INDIA's Three Great Educational Needs. By Dr. J. Murdoch.

The Author.

IRANIAN Essays, Part III.

The Parsee Panchayat.

JUDICIAL Administrative Statistics of British India for 1900-01 and preceding years.

Government of India.

KANSAS University Quarterly, Vols. VII. and VIII., 1898-1899.

The University.

LECTURES and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects.

The Parsee Panchayat.

LOCAL Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Committee at Glasgow for the Meeting of British Association, 1901.

LOCAL Rules and Orders made under Enactments applying to Bombay, Vol. I. (List of Agenda and Corrigenda, corrected up to December 1899).

Bombay Government.

MĀDIGĀN-I-HAZĪR DĀDISTĀN.

The Parsee Panchayat.

MADRAS Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV., No. 2 (Anthropology).

Madras Government.

MEMOIRS, Geological Survey of India—Palæontologia, Indica, Vol. II.

Geological Survey.

———— of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. 34, 1901-02.

Geological Survey.

MINUTES and Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers,
Vols. 147 and 148, for 1901-02.

The Institution.

MONTHLY Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vols. LXI.,
& LXII. 1900-01, 1901-02.

Royal Astronomical Society.

NOTE on Administration, Stamp Department, Punjab, for 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

PAPERS regarding the Land Revenue System of British India.

Secretary of State for India.

PARSEE Patels of Bombay.

The Parsee Panchayat.

POLICE Report of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Province of Sind,
for 1900.

Bombay Government.

PROCEEDINGS, International Engineering Congress, Glasgow, Reports
and Abstracts, 1901.

Executive Committee of the Congress.

———— Section I. Railways.

Section II. Waterways and Maritime works.

Executive Committee of the Congress.

———— of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for 1901.

Bombay Government.

PROGRESS Report on Forest Administration in Punjab, 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

RECORDS of the Botanical Survey of India, Vol. II., Nos. 1-3.

Government of India.

REPORT, Abkari Department, Bombay.

Bombay Government.

———— American Historical Association, for 1900, Vols. I. and II.

Smithsonian Institution.

———— American Museum of Natural History, 1901.

The Museum.

———— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1901.

The Chamber.

REPORT, Bombay Millowners' Association, 1901.

The Association.

———— **Bombay Veterinary College, 1901-02.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-97, Part 2.**

Smithsonian Institution.

———— **Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bombay, 1901.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries under Bombay Government, 1901.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Civil Veterinary Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1900-1901-1902.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the Punjab, 1901.**

Punjab Government.

———— **Experimental Farms and Gardens in the Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1900-01.**

Madras Government.

———— **Factories, Bombay Presidency, 1901.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Indian Plague Commission, 1898-99.**

The Secretary of State for India.

———— **Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1900-01.**

Punjab Government.

———— **Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1900-01.**

Punjab Government.

———— **Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1901.**

Bombay Government.

———— **Lucknow Provincial Museum, for the year ending 31st March 1902.**

N.-W. P. and Oudh Government.

———— **of Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01.**

Punjab Government.

———— **of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India, 1900-01.**

Government of India.

REPORT of the Collector of Customs in Sind of Rail-borne Trade,
1901-02.

Bombay Government.

———— of the Collector of Salt Revenue in Sind, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

———— of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency,
for 1900-1902.

Bombay Government.

———— of the Indian Famine Commission, 1901, and Papers relating
thereto.

The Secretary of State for India.

———— of the Librarian of Congress, 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

———— on Administration of Civil Justice, Punjab, 1901.

Punjab Government.

———— on Administration of Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1900-91.

Punjab Government.

———— on Administration of Northern India, Salt Revenue
Department, for 1901-02.

Government of India.

———— on Customs Administration of the Port of Bombay, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

———— on External Land Trade of the Province of Sind and British
Baluchistan, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

———— on Forest Administration in British India, 1899-1900-01.

Government of India.

———— on Plague Operations in the Poona Cantonment from July to
December 1900, with Reports of the Results of Inoculation.

Bombay Government.

———— on Vaccination in the Punjab, 1901-02.

Punjab Government.

———— on Working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department, 1901.

Government of India.

———— on the Administration of Encumbered Estates in Sind for the
year ending 31st July 1901.

Bombay Government.

———— on the Administration of the Government Museum and the
Connemara Public Library, 1901-02.

Madras Government.

———— on the Administration of the Opium Department, Bombay
Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

- REPORT** on the Excise Administration, Punjab, during 1901-02.
Punjab Government.
- on the Material Progress of the Punjab, during the Decade
1891—1902.
Punjab Government.
- on the Operation in connection with the Income Tax in the
Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.
Bombay Government.
- on the Rail and Road Borne Trade of the Bombay Presidency,
exclusive of Sind, for 1900-01-02.
Bombay Government.
- on the Total Solar Eclipse, 1898, as observed at Jeur. By K.
D. Naigamvala.
Bombay Government.
- on the working of Municipalities in Punjab, 1900-01.
Punjab Government.
- on Customs Administration, Sind, 1901-02.
Bombay Government.
- on the Operations of the Survey of India, 1900-01.
Government of India.
- Police Administration, Punjab, 1901.
Punjab Government.
- Police, of the Town and Island of Bombay, for 1901.
Bombay Government.
- Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1901.
Bombay Government.
- Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1902.
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement Nara Valley Talukas of Sanghar
Khipra and Umarkot of the Thar and Parkar District.
Bombay Government.
- Hala Taluka of the Hyderabad District.
Bombay Government.
- Mirpur Khas Taluka of the Thar and Parkar
District.
Bombay Government.
- Shahadapur Taluka of the Hyderabad District.
Bombay Government.
- Shahdapur Taluka of the Upper Sind Frontier
District.
* Bombay Government.
- Tando Alahyar Taluka of the Hyderabad
District.
Bombay Government.

REPORT, Revision Survey Settlement, Thul Taluka of the Upper Sind Frontier District.

Bombay Government.

———— Revision Settlement, Montgomery District.

Punjab Government.

———— Salt Department, Bombay Presidency, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

———— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, for 1901.

Punjab Government.

———— Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay Government, 1901.

Bombay Government.

———— Sanitation, Dispensaries in Rajputana, for 1900 and on Vaccination, for 1900-01.

Government of India.

———— Smithsonian Institution, for 1900 and 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

———— Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

———— Talukdari Settlement Officer, for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

———— to the Evolution Committee, Royal Society.

The Society.

———— Trade and Navigation, Aden, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

———— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

RETURN of the Net Income and Expenditure of British India under certain specified heads for eleven years from 1890-91—1900-01.

Secretary of State for India.

———— Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1902.

Government of India.

RISE of Bombay. By S. M. Edwardes.

Bombay Government.

ROYAL Society's Report to the Malaria Committee, Seventh Series.

The Royal Society.

SMITHSONIAN Institution, Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. XLIII. (Origin and History, Vol. II., 1887-1899).

The Smithsonian Institution.

———— Institution, Origin and History.

The Smithsonian Institution.

Statements, Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

STATISTICAL Abstract—British India, from 1891-92—1900-01 (36th number).

Secretary of State for India.

STATISTICS of Mineral Products in India, 1892—1901.

Government of India.

STRANGE Adventures of Andrew Battell. (Hakluyt Society).

Bombay Government.

TABLES relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, 1896-97 to 1900-01.

Secretary of State for India.

TAITTIRIYA Aranyaka of the Krishna Yajurveda.

Mysore Government.

TECHNICAL Art Series, 1901, Plates I.—XII.

Government of India.

TIDE Tables for Indian Ports, 1902.

Secretary of State for India.

THEATRE au Japan (*Annales du Musee Guimet*).

Musee Guimet.

THE Battlefields of Natal Re-visited.

Messrs Thomas Cook & Son.

THE Coorger and Yeruvas, an Ethnological Contrast By J.H Holland.

The Author.

THINGS of India made Plain, Part III. By W. M. Wood.

The Author.

UNITED States Geological Survey, Report, 1899-1900, Parts I, V. with Maps, VI & VII.

United States Geological Survey.

Smithsonian Institution.

VIJAYINI Kavyam. By Shrishwar Vidyalkar.

The Author.

BOOKS PRESENTED BY A.M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

- Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie.
 Cägataische Sprachstudien.
 Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift.
 Cleasby's Icelandic—English Dictionary.
 Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization.
 Lake-dwellings of Switzerland.
 Eschichte des Dolke's Israel.
 Kosmologie der Babylonier.
 Hittiter und Armenier.
 Skizzeder Geschichte und Geography Arabiens.
 Keilin Schriftliche Bibliothek I-VI.
 Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus. Bds: 1 and 2.
 Etude sur les Changements Phonetiques.
 Tyken des Sprachbanes.
 Grammaire Comparee de l'Anglais et de l'Allemand.
 Griechischen Vokalabstufung zur Sanskritischen.
 Pre-Historic Times.
 Earlyman in Britain.
 The Empire of the Hittiters.
 Babylonian and Oriental Records, Vols. 1 and 2.
 Assyrian Lectures.
 Egyptian Grammar.
 Assyrian Grammar.
 Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.
 Indo-Germanische Forschungen—Awzeiger, Vols. 1-9.
 Bezenberger's Beitrage, Vols. XI V-XXV.
 Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vols. XXI-XXXVII.
 History of Ancient Egypt.
 Ancient Monarchies.
 The Sixth Oriental Monarchy.
 Cave Hunting.
 Hibbert Lectures, 1887.
 Comparative Grammar.
 Pre-Historic Phases.
 The Chaldean Account of Genesis.
 History of English Sounds.
 Language of China before the Chinese.
 Folk Etymology.
 Assyrian Discoveries.
 Chaldean Magic.
 History of Egyptian Religion.
 Paul's Principles of Language.

Antiquity of Man.
 Greeks and Goths.
 Study of Language.
 Geschdes des Perfects in Indo-Germanischen.
 Indo-Germanische Vocal System.
 Indo-Germanischen Vocalismus,
 Vergleichende Grammatik:
 Syntaktische Forschungen. (1—4).
 Morphologische Untersuchungen (1—4).
 Einleitung in das Alte Testament.
 Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte.
 Angel Sächsische Grammatik.
 Grundzüge der Phonetik.
 Gotische Grammatik.
 Althochdeutsche Grammatik.
 Altanordische Grammatik.
 Altestamentliche Literatur.
 Langue de l'Avesta.
 Babylonian Literature.
 Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia.
 Pre-History of the North.
 Principles of Comparative Philology.
 Principles of English Etymology.
 Anthropology.
 Introduction to the Science of Language.
 Icelandic Prose Reader.
 Anglo-Saxon Reader (First and Second Series.)
 Old High-German Primer.
 Middle High-German Primer.
 Primer of the Gothic Language.
 First Middle English Primer.
 Second Middle English Primer.
 Assyria.
 Indo-Germanische Sprachwissenschaft.
 Assyrian Grammar.
 Lectures on the Science of Language.
 Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language.

